DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 093 446 PS 006 960

AUTHOR	Krulee, Gilbert K.; And Others
TITLE	An Organizational Analysis of Project Follow Through. Final Report.
INSTITUTION	Northwestern Univ., Evanston, Ill.
SPONS AGENCY	Division of Compensatory Education, BESE.
PUB DATE	1 Apr 73
GRANT	OEG-D-70-4940(286)
NOTE	413p.
EDRS PRICE	MF-$0.75 HC-$19.80 PLUS POSTAGE
DESCRIPTORS	*Administrative Organization; Bureaucracy; *Compensatory Education Programs; *Federal Programs; Organizational Change; *Program Administration; *Program Descriptions; Program Evaluation; Program Improvement
IDENTIFIERS	*Project Follow Through

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to provide an assessment of the Follow Through organization and its major components in order to identify problems in functioning and to suggest possible organizational changes that would lead to improved functioning. Each of the major components of Follow Through - the Follow Through Office, the sponsors, local projects, and the evaluation effort - is described and the organization of these components into a total program is outlined. The historical development of the program as well as its present structure and functioning is reviewed. Conclusions and implications are drawn from the Follow Through experience that would appear to be relevant to the administration of similar programs of intervention and experimental innovation. (Author/CS)

ED 093446

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH,
EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF
EDUCATION
THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY

AN ORGANIZATIONAL ANALYSIS OF PROJECT FOLLOW THROUGH

Final Report

April 1, 1973

Prepared for:

Follow Through Program
Division of Compensatory Education
Department of Health, Education, and Welfare
Washington, D.C. 20202

Contract OEG-D-70-4940 (286)

Northwestern University
Evanston, Illinois, 60201
Gilbert K. Krulee, Principal Investigator
William A. Hetzner, Research Associate
Emmit J. McHenry, Research Associate

PS 006960

PREFACE

This study is an outgrowth of some discussions that I had in Spring 1970 with Dr. Robert Egbert, then Director of Follow Through, and Dr. Richard Snyder, then Chief of Follow Through's Research and Evaluation Section. The three of us explored at that time the possibility of an " organizational analysis " of Follow Through and what might be accomplished by such an analysis. I should add that I was already somewhat familiar with the Follow Through program. I had participated in some discussions about the effort being undertaken by the Stanford Research Institute and had met a number of individuals who were associated with that effort. I had also participated in meetings attended by sponsors, SRI staff members and others and was aware of the complexities of Follow Through.

The three of us were in substantial agreement about the possible value of such a study. On the one hand, there was the immediate objective of collecting data that might suggest improvements in the functioning of the total effort. On the other hand, there was the longer-range objective of documenting the Follow Through experience in a way that would be helpful to future programs of a similar nature. As to the first objective, Egbert and Snyder were both enthusiastic about the short-run value of such a study. After all, they were both aware that Follow Through was an ambitious effort, technically as well as organizationally, in part because of the experimental orientation of the program. As administrators, they were quite honest in recognizing the complexity of their administrative responsibilities. Could they have carried out this study themselves? Probably not: they (as well as all of the other staff members) were already overburdened with an existing set of responsibilities. More importantly, it appeared to be desirable to assign this particular task to someone who was both less involved and had less at stake in the success of Follow Through.

As to the more long-range objective, was it reasonable to assume that one might be able to generalize from the Follow Through experience? One might want to maintain that Follow Through is a unique experience and therefore that one can only reach conclusions that might be pertinent for the administration of another Follow Through program. Of course, Follow Through is unique in some respects. Yet, in other respects it would appear to resemble certain other types of programs for which the lessons of the Follow Through experience ought to be applicable. Follow Through has the following important characteristics. (1) In addition to being federally funded, the center for administrative planning and control is located within a Federal Agency, in this case, the Office of Education. (2) It is an experimental program in that a variety of approaches are being implemented. (3) A major effort is being made to provide for the comparative assessment of these approaches and certain policy decisions which will subsequently be made about the future of the program will make use of this assessment. (4) The program represents an intervention into the functioning of some existing social systems, schools and communities. As such, successful implementation of the program would appear to imply some success at introducing relevant changes into these social systems.

Thus, we assume that the Follow Through experience has relevance for any program which also shares these four characteristics and perhaps for any program which attempts to modify the functioning of existing social systems.

As one works with Follow Through, one immediately is impressed with the sense of excitement and dedication which characterizes those individuals who work with Follow Through, whether in Washington, on a university campus, or in a local community. Of course, there is also a sense of strain and an awareness of how much there is to do and how little time is available.

As a consequence, one soon becomes involved partly as a participant rather than as a " neutral " observer. Thus, our method of operation has been to become involved as participant observers. Yet, we have tried to look at the Follow Through experience both honestly as well as sympathetically. The reader will have to judge whether or not we have succeeded.

In carrying out this study, we have received extraordinary cooperation from an extraordinary number of people. In Follow Through, we are particularly in debt to Drs. Egbert and Snyder for their support in the initiation of the project and more recently to Ms. Rosemary Wilson, current director of Follow Through, and to Dr. Garry McDaniels, Acting Chief for Research and Evaluation, for their continuing support of the project. At various times, other members of the Research Section have been particularly helpful: Frieda Denenmark, Judith Burns, Donald Burns, and Ned Chalker. We also would like to thank Edward Cherian for his assistance and advice. Of the staff of the Stanford Research Institute we are particularly in debt to Stephen Oura and to the continued cooperation of Philip Sorensen, William Madow, Dorothy Stewart, and Harvey Dixon. In the past, we also received valuable assistance from John Bosley and Stanley Crockett. Finally, there are others at Northwestern who have contributed to the completion of the project: Roberta Rowlands and Donald Weaver as Research Assistants and Yvonne Chuzum and Donna Davis who helped with the project administration.

Gilbert K. Krulee

CONTENTS

PREFACE

I. The Study: Methods and Scope 1
Introduction 1
Follow Through: An Overview 3
Purposes of the Study 9

II. A Developmental Overview 10
Introduction 10
The Intellectual Origins of the Program 10
Initial Planning for the Program 18
An Intermediate Stage: Growth and Consolidation 27
Reorientation 37

III. Sponsor Programs and Community Projects 48
Introduction 48
Initial Involvement of Sponsors 51
Sponsor A 52
Sponsor B 54
Sponsors' Organizations 56
Project Comparisons: Some General Considerations 73
Initial Commitments by Community and Sponsor 76
Project Implementation in Community A1 81
Project Implementation in Community A2 106
Project Implementation in Community B1 122
Project Implementation in Community B2 143
Projects in Transition 155
Summary 177

IV. The Evaluation Effort 183
Introduction 183
Evaluation: Some Preliminary Considerations 184
Project Initiation 190
Consolidation and Reorganization 229
Transitions into Crisis 266
A Period of Crisis 285

V. The Follow Through Branch: Organization and Functioning 305
Introduction 305
Branch Organization through June, 1971 306
Reorientation and its Consequences 332
The Functions of the Director 343

VI. Conclusions and Implications 348
Introduction 348
Project Implementation 349
Sponsors and their Programs 371
The Evaluation Effort 380
The Follow Through Branch 395
Epilogue 404

CHAPTER ONE

THE STUDY: METHODS AND SCOPE

Introduction

Follow Through was originally conceived as part of the " War on Poverty " and funded through an amendment to the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. More importantly, it has been an extremely innovative program, directed toward the achievement of certain kinds of institutional changes in local schools and communities.

In what respects do we want to maintain that the program is innovative and that its experiences are of general interest? First of all, its approach is to view itself as an example of what Campbell likes to refer to as " Reforms as Experiments, " " an approach in which we try out new programs designed to cure specific social problems, in which we learn whether or not these programs are effective, and in which we retain , imitate, modify, or discard them on the basis of apparent effectiveness on the multiple imperfect criteria available. "[1]

Now, at first glance, this approach might not appear to be particularly innovative: after all, doesn't one usually attempt to be experimental and to learn from experience? Unfortunately not, and it is illuminating to consider how few programs are genuinely experimental and how few programs are either retained or, more likely, discarded on the basis of well-defined evidence about their accomplishments.

---

[1] Campbell, D.T. Reforms as Experiments. American Psychologist, 1969, 24, P. 409.

A second innovative characteristic of Follow Through is in the manner in which an experimental approach has been implemented. The program supported an emphasis on " planned variation, " on a variety of approaches, with the implication that the outcomes were unpredictable and that there was no assurance of success for all of these approaches. The variety of approaches could be viewed as the " experimental variable. " In addition, there was support for an ambitious program of data collection as part of an effort at assessment and evaluation.

The third feature of Follow Through that is of general interest is that the program as a whole should be viewed as an experiment in the administration of an experimental program. What we mean to imply is that innovative programs can succeed only to the extent that they can be implemented and that an administrative organization can be formed that will facilitate the implementation. Moreover, there is every reason to believe that many good ideas fail because of difficulties encountered in the process of implementation. See, for example, Moynihan's discussion of the difficulties encountered in the implementation of the Community Action Programs [2] or Sarason's comments [3] on the importance of creating an appropriate " setting" or organization for the support of a novel enterprise.

---

2. Moynihan, D.P. Maximum Feasible Misunderstanding. New York:Free Press 1969.

3. Sarason, S.B. The Creation of Settings and the Future Societies. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1972.

When we refer to Follow Through as an administrative experiment, we mean to imply that the outcome of the experiment was problematical and that it would be unreasonable to assume that the program ought to be successful in all respects. Indeed, many of the program outcomes have been exciting and stimulating; others have been disappointing. In our view, that's what one should expect.

As an administrative or organizational experiment, Follow Through has often operated without precedent: i.e., it has not been in a position to profit from someone else's mistakes with a similar program. As a result, it is exploring precedents and that is a painful process. Hopefully, additional programs will be able to profit from their failures as well as their successes. Our purpose is to document this administrative experiment and to consider its implications for future programs.

In the remainder of this chapter, we want to describe briefly the program and then what we hope to accomplish by an " organizational analysis" of it.

Follow Through: An Overview

Follow Through is a program for disadvantaged children in kindergarten through the third grade. Although there is a sense in which Follow Through may be viewed as an educational program, it is also a comprehensive program with a variety of components designed to meet physical and psycho-social needs as well as the educational needs of the children for whom it is intended.

Undoubtedly, the most unusual characteristic of Follow Through is that it currently emphasizes research and development in the field of education; it is an experimental program organized so as to carry out a set of experiments in parallel and to learn from the outcomes. For example, after an initial exploration period (1967-68), the responsibility for the educational program itself was delegated to a series of model sponsors who work closely with a number of community projects. Moreover, the judgement has been made that it is neither feasible nor desirable to expect these sponsors to agree precisely on the objectives for an educational program nor on the most appropriate methods for achieving these objectives. Accordingly, a strategy of planned variation has been adopted. Sponsors, in conjunction with communities, are free to make a variety of decisions about their own educational programs. In return, they are expected to make public the nature of these choices and the underlying rationale, and to participate in a program of evaluation in which the differences among sponsors are one of the major experimental variables.

This emphasis on research and development is quite consistent with a recent description of the purpose of Follow Through " to develop evidence to help guide policy decisions about the design and implementation of educational programs intended to ameliorate the impact of poverty and its concomitants. " [4]

For certain purposes, one talks quite naturally about " the Follow Through Program " as if it were a single entity and as if it could be directly and easily described. For the purposes of this study, it is important to recognize that the total program is actually made up of a number of component subsystems which function interdependently and that we need to identify the major components that make up the total program. First of all, there is the Washington office of Follow Through, located in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, consisting of a Director and staff who are divided **into three groups**: program management, research and evaluation, and technical assistance. This office is responsible for the development of the program, its management, and the monitoring of the component subsystems. Speaking informally, one often associates the total program with the Washington office (henceforth to be referred to as either " Follow Through " or the " Follow Through office "), but this is misleading since the day-to-day implementation of the program as it affects children and communities is delegated to some additional components.

---

[4] Egbert, R. Follow Through. Unpublished manuscript, 1971. P. 1.

A diagramatic representation of the total program is given in Figure 1, and all major components have been included. In many respects, the community projects are at the heart of the program; without them, one could not say that the program had ever been implemented. As we shall see, each community project is like a miniature school system, although it might also be viewed as a part of a school system limited to certain schools and certain grade levels within the larger community school system. With minor exceptions, community projects are implemented as a consequence of a contract drawn up between Follow Through and a local school system and are monitored by the Program Management Section.

Before proceeding, it is important to note that the communities are responsible for a total program of effort with the educational effort making up only one of the components. There is a program manual[5] that sets down some guidelines for the definition and monitoring of local efforts. According to this manual, each comprehensive program of services will include the following components: instructional, medical and dental health, nutrition, social services, psychological services, and staff development. In addition, each community is responsible for developing mechanisms that provide for

PS 006960

---

5. Follow Through Program Manual. February 24, 1969

parent participation and community involvement.

The instructional component of each community project, being experimental, depends also on some important inputs from a particular sponsor who works closely with the local effort. Each sponsor is supported by a contract with Follow Through, supervised by the Research and Evaluation Section, to make possible his cooperation with a designated set of projects. Interestingly enough the responsibility of a sponsor to a project is somewhat hard to define. The sponsor is not in the position of line management; he does not run the local program. On the other hand, he is responsible to the Follow Through Office for the implementation of his particular educational model. In some respects, each sponsor functions as an educational consultant to a project and as an advisor and trainer. On the other hand, he is in a position to control somewhat what happens at the local level (he has some power) since each local community has a commitment to Follow Through to work with the sponsor and to implement his program.

In the diagram, there are two other subsystems that provide secondary or collateral support for the community projects. At the present time, the provision for general consultants is undoubtedly the more important of these two. There is at most one general consultant per project. General Consultants come from a variety of backgrounds---social work, education, psychology---but in general they are skilled in working with community action programs. Many of them have had experience with Head Start and they function as neutral, outside " experts " as well as trouble-shooters. Their responsibility is to the community and thus, they work only indirectly with the sponsors; i.e. they work primarily with the community. General consultants make periodic visits to projects; they appear to function on occasion as mediators, or planners, and energizers. Although there are

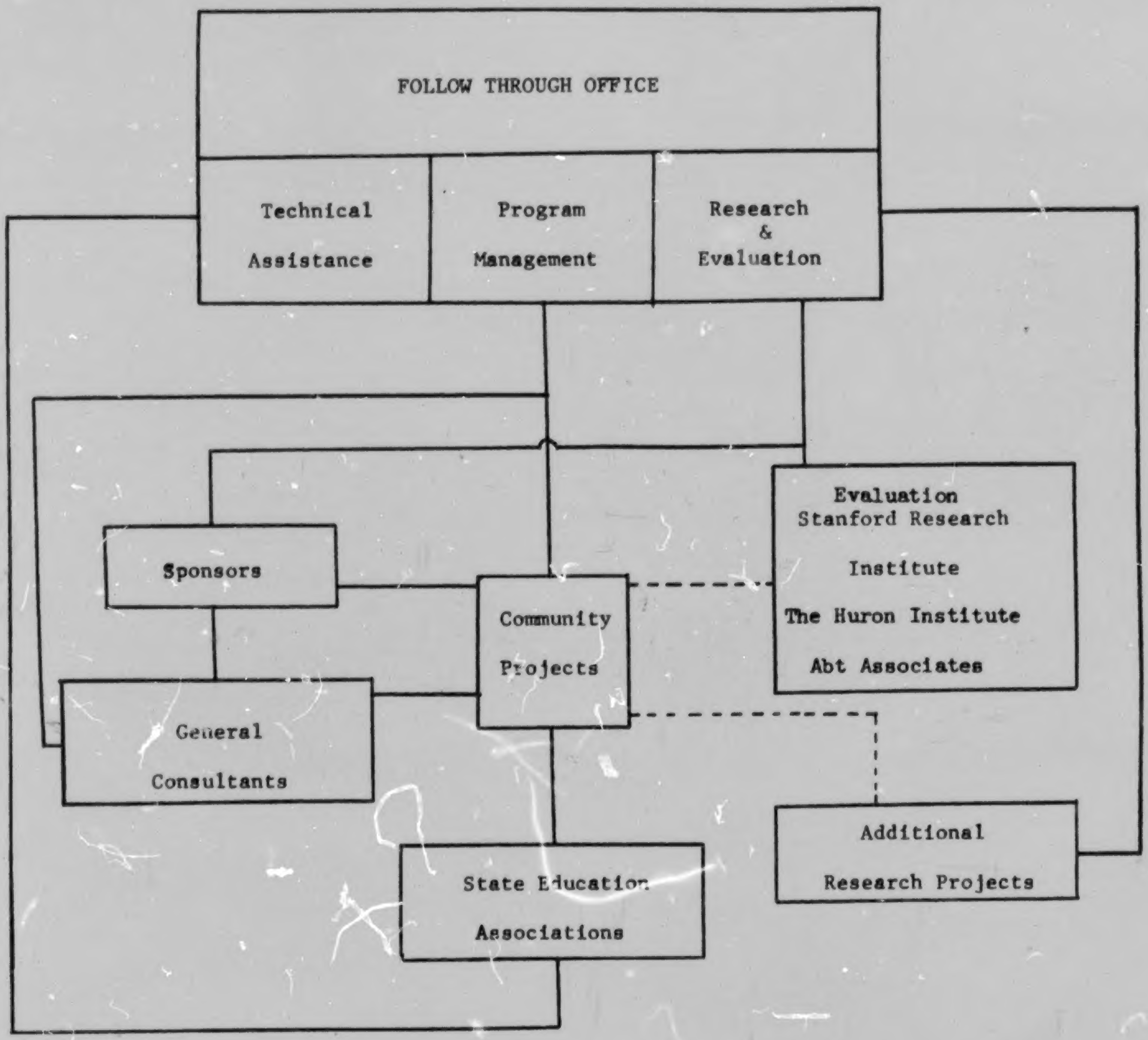
FOLLOW THROUGH OFFICE
Technical Assistance
Program Management
Research & Evaluation
Sponsors
General Consultants
Community Projects
Evaluation Stanford Research Institute The Huron Institute Abt Associates
State Education Associations
Additional Research Projects

Figure 1. A diagrammatic representation of the total organization.

major variations in how these consultants function from project to project, their services are sometimes important.

General consultants operate through an interesting organizational device. At first, Follow Through contracted through Volt Information Sciences Inc. for the services of the general consultants. The current contract is with the Pacific Training and Technical Assistance Corporation. Follow Through in cooperation with the local community is likely to recruit a particular consultant. Then his work is monitored and he is paid directly on a per diem basis.

The component labelled Technical Assistance is responsible for two rather separate activities. In part, there is a provision for funds for supplementary training grants to local communities. This training is primarily used by the para-professionals working with a local program in order to improve their capabilities and to expand their career opportunities. This portion of the funds is administered by the local projects. Grants are also made to State Education Associations in order to provide for State Technical Assistance. More specifically, by means of these grants, states can make available technical support to communities that will supplement the work of the general consultants. In addition, states are expected to develop a knowledge of Follow Through that can be disseminated to other communities and that can have a useful impact on educational practices in other parts of the State. It is our impression that the state services, as yet, have not had a significant impact on local projects, but this situation may change with time.

The subsystems that we have described so far are all directly pertinent to the implementation of the local projects. There remain two entries in the diagram that are pertinent to research and evaluation as well as the long-run planning for the future of the program. These might be viewed as " staff " functions, since their contributions give indirect support to the objective of improving the life opportunities of the children who participate in the program. The Stanford Research Institute is responsible[6] for evaluating the effectiveness of the local programs and their most recent report, entitled " Evaluation of the National Follow Through Program: 1969-1971, " is indicative of the focus of their effort. At first glance, one might conclude that SRI's responsibilities are clear and well-defined, but upon further examination one is more likely to conclude that their responsibilities are neither clear nor well-defined. These issues about the responsibilities of SRI will be discussed more fully in Chapter IV. However, let us indicate briefly certain respects in which SRI is not responsible for an evaluation of the total " comprehensive " program. Due in part to limited resources, their major focus is on an evaluation of the instructional effort, although there has been some effort devoted to an assessment of teacher attitudes and parent participation. In addition, under the heading of instructional effort, one notices that SRI has been more successful in the assessment of cognitive skills and somewhat less successful in the development of non-cognitive and attitudinal measures.

In addition to SRI, there also exists a program of research, supported by the Research and Evaluation Section, consisting of a series of grants and contracts to outside agencies. Note that Follow Through itself does not carry out any research: certain research and development objectives are delegated to others by means of contracts.

---

6. Portions of this responsibility are now shared with the Huron Institute and Abt Associates.

Purposes of the Study

When one studies a program like Follow Through, what elements would one expect to be essential to its success? First of all, the program depends upon insights and ideas which provide a foundation for the program activities. But these ideas are not unlike a blue print for a house: that they be sound and wise is a necessary but not sufficient condition for the success of the program. In addition, the ideas - the blue print - must be implemented and the process of implementation implies that an organization must be constructed in order to carry out the program.

In this study, our focus is primarily on the organization of activities for the implementation of the program and only incidentally on ideas about learning, child development, and community involvement upon which it depends. Our purposes are as follows: (1) To provide a description of each of the major components of Follow Through - the Follow Through Office, the sponsors, local projects, and the evaluation effort - and the organization of these components into a total program. In this description, we have reviewed the historical development of the program as well as its present structure and functioning. (2)mTo provide an assessment of the Follow Through organization and its major components in order to identify problems in functioning and to suggest possible organizational changes that would lead to improved functioning. (3) To reach some conclusions about the Follow Through experience that would appear to be relevant to the administration of similar programs of intervention and experimental innovation.

In what follows, the description of Follow Through will be found in chapters two through five while a discussion of conclusions and implications is in the final chapter.

CHAPTER TWO

A DEVELOPMENTAL OVERVIEW

Introduction

In an early planning document, the statement is made that "--the goal of Follow Through must be the enhancement of the child's capacity to cope effectively with life situations".[1] In the remainder of this chapter, we will review the history of Follow Through with a particular emphasis on how the program was initially organized and on the process by means of which its organization has continued to evolve.

The Intellectual Origins of the Program

At the present time, Follow Through functions primarily as an experimental program with a strong emphasis on research and development. Yet, when initially conceived, there was much more of an emphasis on Follow Through as a service program. How did this experimental orientation come into being and become accepted as a major characteristic of the Follow Through Program? In what follows, we want to review some of the intellectual orientations that influenced the early development of Follow Through. We want also to document that Follow Through was initially viewed as a service program; subsequently, there occurred an important shift in thinking so that it came to be viewed primarily as an experimental program. Finally, we want to indicate some of the effects of this shift in point of view on the evolution of the Follow Through organization.

---

1. Klopf, G. J. Preliminary Report of the Advisory Committee on Follow Through. July, 1967, Pp. 25.

In some important respects, Follow Through is an outgrowth of the Head Start Program with its emphasis on the early years of childhood. Moreover, the early planning for Follow Through was particularly influenced by experiences with Head Start. Provisions for Head Start were included in the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 and the program was begun as a preschool program in the summer of 1965. In the initial planning for Head Start, there appears to have been a strong emphasis on service although the need for research in order to evaluate the effectiveness of Head Start was also recognized.

What do we mean to imply by referring to Head Start, when initially conceived, as a "service" program rather than a program emphasizing "research and development?" Let us assume that those individuals who initiate such a program have in mind some objectives or ends and that they view the program, when implemented, as a means to the achievement of those ends. Moreover, let us assume that these program planners also have in mind a set of concepts, a theory if you will, that relates the program as means to the desired ends. Admittedly, much of this analysis - the underlying assumptions - may be implicit rather than explicit and it may be necessary to infer the underlying rationale from a variety of statements made about the program.

It is useful to refer to a service program as one for which the relationship between ends and means is assumed to be established and relatively unproblematical. It is as if a doctor had completed his diagnosis as to the cause of illness and could prescribe a treatment (program) that would accomplish the cure. On the other hand, a program emphasizing research and development is one for which the relationship between ends and means is not assumed to be established and is therefore problematical.

Assuming that one can diagnose what is wrong, one would still need to establish an effective cure. Thus, a program emphasizing research and development must consider a variety of possible means and one of its objectives will be to evaluate the degree of relationship between these means and the appropriate ends. The situation may be even more complex when a trustworthy diagnosis of the cause of illness is not yet available. Under these circumstances, there will be uncertainty about ends - what actually needs to be accomplished - as well as about the means (program) for achieving these ends.

One associates with Head Start, as well as other Federally-funded programs that were developed at about the same time (such as the Title I program of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, passed in 1965), a major emphasis on the elimination of poverty. One talks of the disadvantaged and of deprivation of early experience. There is also an implication that the difficulties could be eliminated by a suitable addition of resources that would eliminate deficits and provide for equality of opportunity. Along these lines, Murphy's comments about the orientation of ESEA are illuminating and are reasonably applicable to Head Start. "The underlying notion was familiar - poor children given the opportunity to do well in school will do well as adults - and it was embodied in the Act's first and most important title. By allocating extra funds to schools with high concentrations of poor families, federal reformers sought better education and improved opportunity.

"In this, Title I expressed the political atmosphere prevailing in mid-'60's Washington. The Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 had just been passed, and high government officials believed that poverty would soon be eliminated. It was only natural, then, that they would try to extend the President's 'unconditional war' on poverty by providing quality education for poor children. This attitude also reflected the influence of what Daniel P. Moynihan calls the professionalization of reform:

'(President Kennedy's) election brought to Washington as office holders, or consultants, or just friends, a striking echelon of persons whose profession might justifiably be described as knowing what ails societies and whose art is to get treatment underway before the patient is especially aware of anything noteworthy taking place..."[2,3]

Follow Through originated when this orientation of optimism and enthusiasm was undergoing some modifications and as some evidence was beginning to accumulate that would raise doubts about its adequacy. First of all, it soon became apparent that Head Start was at best a partial solution to a portion of a much larger problem. Quoting from the present Director of Follow Through: "The need for a follow-up early elementary program soon became clear as Head Start evaluation reports suggested that if there were pre-school gains, these gains tended to dissipate if not reinforced in the primary grades. Sargent Shriver, in addressing the opening session of the annual meeting of the Great Cities Research Council in Milwaukee on November 18, 1966, pointed to studies which indicated that Head Start gains were being nullified and stated that 'the readiness and receptivity that they had gained in Head Start has been crushed by the broken promises of first grade!'"[4]

---

2. Jerome T. Murphy. Title I of ESEA: The Politics of Implementing Federal Education Reform. Harvard Education Review, 1971, 41, 35-63.

3. Daniel P. Moynihan. Maximum Feasible Misunderstanding. New York: The Free Press, 1969, P. 23.

4. Robert Egbert. Follow Through. Unpublished memorandum. No date.

Note that these comments do not imply any criticism of Head Start. The implication is that the objective needed to be redefined to include the primary grades as well as pre-school experiences and that a broader program (or programs) would be necessary for the achievement of this revised objective. On the other hand, the Head Start evaluations that were being completed raised a variety of questions. Although some of the studies have been severely criticized, the following conclusions seem justified.

1. There was a need for establishing some guide lines for defining what constituted an acceptable Head Start program and for monitoring established programs. Experience had indicated that there were significant variations among programs and some programs in fact seemed to have little relevance if any to the stated objectives of Head Start. These guide lines might be viewed as a definition of an "acceptable" program.
2. More importantly, the comparisons of gains made by children in Head Start with "similar" children not in Head Start raised some important questions. Head Start programs, even when appropriately organized, did not always lead to dramatic improvements as had been expected. By implication, it was not at all clear that one had an adequate grasp of the processes of development pertinent to pre-school experiences nor an adequate explanation for why some Head Start programs were more effective than others.

Overlapping in time with the early experiences of Head Start, there is another study which has had an important influence on the intellectual origins of Follow Through. This is the so-called Coleman Report.[5] It was commissioned as part of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, carried out primarily in 1965, and published in 1966. Note that both this study and Head Start follow from legislation passed in 1964. Curiously enough, reports on Head Start and Follow Through contain few explicit references to the Coleman Report. Yet we believe that certain implications of this report have been broadly influential and are a relevant part of the intellectual climate that has influenced Follow Through.

There was one obvious conclusion to be drawn from the report. Quoting from one review, "The Coleman data are comprehensive enough and the findings distinct enough to release us from endless analyzing of questions of equality of public educational services. Facilities, staffs, and services are distributed unequally. Without exception, on the factors catalogued, the pattern of the inequality uniformly reinforces handicaps brought to the school by the low-income, minority-group learner."[6] This conclusion, taken by itself would tend to confirm the need for service programs that would equalize educational opportunities. But the other conclusions to be drawn from the report are less obvious. As Dentler has written, "more crucially, many of the findings run contrary to the favorite assumptions of three of the most concerned audiences: militant school integrationists, militant school segregationists (along with their camp-following, the militant proponents of the neighborhood school), and the many professional educators who focus their efforts too exclusively upon school facilities, curriculum reform, and teacher training."[7]

---

[5] J. S. Coleman. Equality of Educational Opportunity. Washington: U. S. Gov't. Printing Office, Cat. No. FS 5.238.39001. 1966

[6] Robert A. Dentler. Equality of Educational Opportunity - A Special Review. The Urban Review. 1966. 1, 27-29.

[7] Ibid. p 27.

The total report is complex and some of its findings are controversial. For our purposes, the following implications are pertinent to an understanding of Follow Through and its development.

1. Although school facilities and services are distributed unequally, there appears to be a surprisingly low relationship between achievement and the quality of facilities. To quote from the original report, "Our schools have great uniformity insofar as their effect on the learning of pupils is concerned---Variations in school quality are not highly related to variations in achievement of pupils."[8] A similar statement has been made by Dyer: "A major contribution of the Coleman survey - possibly the major contribution - is its massive challenge to the simplistic notion that counting educational dollars, or the things dollars buy, is a sufficient measure of the equality of educational opportunity."[9]
2. An important implication of the above finding, as well as other findings in the report, is to invalidate the assumptions that we know what to do in order to help overcome the educational handicaps of the disadvantaged, that we know what we mean by the phrase "quality education," or even that we understand precisely what we mean by the term disadvantaged.

8. J. S. Coleman. Equality of Educational Opportunity. Washington: U. S. Gov't. Printing Office, Cat. No. FS 5.238:38001. 1966.

9. Henry S. Dyer. School Factors and Equal Educational Opportunity. Harvard Education Review, 1968, 38, p. 38.

3. On the other hand, student achievement is quite significantly influenced by family background and the social environment of the classroom. Although acceptable explanations for these findings are not yet available, they imply two important conclusions. First, we need to understand how family, the attitudes of one's peers, as well as the attitudes of teachers influence the motivation and achievement of students. Secondly, we can conclude that a remedial program that focuses narrowly on the classroom and educational achievement is unlikely to be successful. Rather, one would hope to develop a program which could take into account the influence of a variety of social factors as they affect learning and educational achievements.

4. Closely related to the above findings are some results on the relationship between achievement and classroom variations among students. As summarized by Dentler, "Individual achievement is facilitated when a student attends school with peers who are socio-economically advantaged, whose parents are more interested in school success, and whose mobility is low. Achievement is dampened for students whose classmates are relatively more disadvantaged, whose parents are less interested and whose movement from school to school or community to community is high."[10] Apparently, it would be a serious mistake to plan a program that included only the disadvantaged,

---

[10] Robert A. Dentler. Equality of Educational Opportunity - A Special Review. The Urban Review. 1966. p 27.

i.e. by separating them out into separate classrooms. One needs some provision for the inclusion of students from a variety of backgrounds with varying degrees of advantage and disadvantage.

5. Finally, there is an important relationship between achievement and a student's sense of control over his environment. One can infer that some sense of participation and influence is important not only for students, but for parents as well. As with other findings in this report, the underlying explanation for this relationship remains unclear.

For our purposes, an important effect of the Coleman Report and of the developing intellectual climate from 1966 to the present is to call into question obvious diagnoses of what is wrong and easy answers about educational reform; in order to be realistic about education for the disadvantaged, one needs to become less optimistic about easy solutions, more concerned with the establishment of more fundamental explanations, and more willing to live with uncertainty.

Initial Planning for the Program

Apparently, late in 1966 into the early part of 1967, some discussions were initiated about the limited effects of Head Start and the need for a follow up program in the primary grades. Since Head Start was actively administered by the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO), this agency was active in this early stage of planning for Follow Through, along with representatives from the Office of the President. Then President Johnson, in his January 10, 1967 State of the Union Message, first proposed Follow Through as a program that would complement Head Start. Planning continued over the next few months and the program began on a pilot basis in the fall of 1967.

During this planning period, a decision was reached that Follow Through would be funded by OEO and authorized by an amendment to the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, but that it would be administered by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, specifically through the Division of Compensatory Education of the U. S. Office of Education. The rationale for this decision is not known to us and is clearly beyond the scope of this study. Yet it has some organizational consequences that are of interest. Although the initiative and initial enthusiasm came from one agency (OEO), administrative responsibility was given to another (OE). As we shall see subsequently, Follow Through for some time operated quite independently within OE and with relatively little direct supervision. Perhaps this is an outcome of the fact that OE had had limited participation in the initial planning and was not responsible for the funding of the program. Moreover, Follow Through has some responsibility to two Federal agencies rather than one. Both agencies participated in decisions about budget and planning.

Some informants have indicated that the support of OEO was essential for the initiation of Follow Through. At that time, OEO had both popular as well as Congressional support and it does seem reasonable to assume that OEO's initiative was a major factor in the initial funding for Follow Through.

Active planning for a major operational program began in early 1967 and the first pilot Follow Through centers began to operate in the fall of 1967. During this nine month period, a number of critical decisions were made and, at first glance, an outsider finds himself confused by the complexity of the activities: i.e., it is not easy to identify a set of patterns for imposing order on this series of events. However, after some additional study, one does begin to recognize that the pattern of activities is comprehensible.

First of all, since the program had not yet received official legislative authorization, it was necessary to borrow money against the future in order to finance this planning phase. According to the first Director of Follow Through, "In anticipation of legislative authorization by the Congress, the Office of Economic Opportunity was prepared to transfer to the U. S. Office of Education sufficient monies to finance the pilot phase of Follow Through: $300,000. in FY 1967 and $2.5 million in FY 1968 funds."[11]

Secondly, it was necessary to improvise a staff, primarily from outside the Federal government in order to carry out this planning phase. Consider, for example, the organizational problem of planning for the implementation of a newly conceived program. In many organizations, staff are primarily committed to existing programs. Then, who will do the work of planning for the new program? In this case, one made use of individuals from outside of the government, some temporary appointments, plus the borrowing of individuals from existing programs in order to form a staff that could plan the program.

More specifically, a National Advisory Committee for Follow Through was formed under the official auspices of the Division of Compensatory

---

11. Robert Egbert. op. cit., p. 4.

Education. This committee was chaired by Gordon J. Klopf of the Bank Street College of Education. It met in Washington on February 22-25, 1967 and again on April 1-2, 1967. The committee supported the activities of seven task forces "---charged with the development of extensive programatic statements on the various aspects of Follow Through."[12] A report of the committee and the task forces was issued in July, 1967 and this report was quite influential in the design of the first pilot Follow Through projects. During this period, there were two acting directors. Dr. Alexander Plante, the Title I, ESEA, Coordinator from the State of Connecticut was named Acting Director on April 17, 1967 and helped in the planning for the pilot communities. He was succeeded briefly by Dr. Eugene Walsh. Finally, Dr. Robert Egbert was named in the summer of 1967; he had been an active member of the Advisory Committee and Chairman of the Task Force on Research and Evaluation.

Thirdly, during this period, the Follow Through organization had responsibility for two related efforts, one of which had to be implemented in the short run and the other over a longer time-scale. The short run effort, with a well-defined and imminent dead-line, was to establish thirty (30) pilot programs in the fall of 1967. The long-run effort, with a less imminent dead-line was to plan for a large-scale operational program for Follow Through, planned for the school year of 1968-69. By a large-scale operational program, we mean one that would serve large numbers of students, perhaps as many as Head Start, and that would possibly complement Head Start by providing for their graduates as they entered the primary grades. Moreover, the experience from the pilot projects was expected to have an important influence on planning for the long-run program.

---

[12] John Hughes, covering letter to the committee's report.

Let us consider what happens when an organization has two jobs to do, either of which will tax the total resources of available staff,[13] with different dead-lines for the completion of plans for how these jobs will be accomplished. This is more or less the situation which faced Follow Through in the spring and summer of 1967. Under such circumstances, one can adopt some organizational heuristics or strategies that may not be ideal but at least permit one to survive. In a sense, one does one's best, taking into account some essential limitations on time and resources.

The strategy that appears to have been adopted, perhaps without explicit realization, is the following. First of all, "uncouple" the two efforts so that planning for each can proceed in parallel (simultaneously) and minimize the requirements for coordination between them. Secondly, establish rather different expectations and aspirations for the two programs, based upon the different amounts of time available for each. What appears to have happened is that with the pilot projects, the major effort was on the development of a plan for implementation, for funding thirty projects without attempting to develop a well-defined set of guidelines for the requirements to be met by these projects. With respect to the larger program for the future, there was less time pressure on the staff for developing plans for the implementation of the program; one could be more leisurely about the planning process and have higher aspirations for what one expected of these projects.

---

[13] During this period, the total staff consisted of approximately 6 - 10 people.

Some appreciation for the time pressure under which the staff operated in implementing the thirty (30) pilot projects can be inferred from the following statement made by Dr. Egbert. "From approximately five hundred (500) communities nominated by State agencies and their offices, invitations were extended the first week in May to some one hundred (100) communities to submit Follow Through project proposals. Application procedures were explained to local representatives at regional meetings held in Atlanta, Kansas City, and New York City, May 8 - 10. A selection panel convened June 12-13 to recommend which of the eighty seven (87) proposal submissions should be funded. On June 15, Harold Howe, II, Commissioner of Education, approved the thirty (30) pilot centers.

"On June 26, 1967, the President signed the Delegation of Authority which officially enabled the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare to administer the program. (The Secretary redelegated authority to the Commissioner of Education on November 30, 1967; and the Commissioner redelegated authority to the Associate Commissioner for Elementary and Secondary Education on January 3, 1968.) At the same time that the Delegation was signed by the President, the memorandum of understanding governing the terms of program administration was concluded by OEO Director, Sargent Shriver, and Acting Secretary, Wilbur Cohen. Planning grants of up to $10,000. were made to the thirty (30) pilot centers before the end of the fiscal year."[14]

Having made commitments to thirty (30) pilot centers, Follow Through began to work with them in order to help them develop operational plans for the opening of school in the fall. Since Follow Through had insufficient staff for working with these communities, it was necessary for them to improvise another organizational strategy for informing the projects about Follow Through and helping them to complete their plans. Accordingly, responsibility for orientation and leadership training was assigned to the Bank Street College of Education and the University of Oregon by means of sub-contracts. These schools held leadership seminars for the staff of pilot projects. A first round of seminars was held on July 14-20 in Chapel Hill, North Carolina (Bank Street) and on July 28 - August 3 in Greeley, Colorado (University of Oregon). A follow-up conference was held in New York on October 25-29, 1967.

---

[14] Robert Egbert, op. cit., p. 5.

During the later part of the summer, final agreements for beginning the pilot projects were made. Operational proposals were submitted by August 15, 1967 and operating grants for approximately $85,000. per project, each serving approximately one hundred (100) children were approved prior to the opening of the school year. In addition, plans for ten (10) additional projects to begin during the second semester of 1967-68 were approved. As a result of these agreements, nearly three thousand (3,000) poor children were enrolled in Follow Through projects during 1967-68.

Perhaps arbitrarily, we want to assume that this initial planning phase was completed by September, 1967. At this time, plans for the opening of forty (40) pilot centers had been completed, although planning for the larger program, scheduled for 1968-69, had scarcely begun.

There is one additional set of questions that we want to raise about this initial period, although our answers to these questions are at this time quite impressionistic. Consider a staff member working for Follow Through at this time. What feelings might he or she have had about the program? Similarly, what feelings might have characterized those individuals who were responsible for the operation of the thirty (30), now forty (40) pilot projects? As yet, we have little data that bear directly on these questions but we do have some impressions.

As for the Follow Through staff, they were often enthusiastic and we assume that they were convinced of the importance of the effort that was about to be made. At this time, they appear to have viewed Follow Through as emphasizing service to the disadvantaged; the staff do not appear to have reached any consensus about the educational commitments of Follow Through except to "improve" the educational opportunities available to the disadvantaged. Indeed, no guidelines for defining an acceptable Follow Through program were as yet available. More importantly, they must have often been aware of their limited resources when compared to the magnitude of their responsibilities; they must have felt occasionally overwhelmed by the dead-lines that they had to face. In this period, staff were being actively recruited so that Follow Through had not as yet achieved any sense of stability.

Similarly, those participating in the pilot projects must have felt uncertain about what they were trying to accomplish and uneasy about what had to be done during the summer in order to implement a fall program. Undoubtedly, their objective was to improve the quality of educational opportunities; yet it seems clear that there was unavoidable anxiety about what needed to be done, about the assignment of responsibilities, as well as about the limited time remaining for planning. Considering the time pressures under which these projects operated, some feelings of tension and uncertainty were perhaps inevitable.

An Intermediate Stage, Growth and Consolidation

During the fall of 1967, implementation of the forty (40) pilot projects was well underway and major attention could be devoted to planning for an extensive service program to begin in the fall of 1968. During this period, the Follow Through staff consisted of no more than ten individuals. The Director was attempting to recruit additions to the staff and found it difficult to do so. He has described the staff operation at that time as relatively "unspecialized" - everyone did a little of everything. From an organizational point of view, roles and responsibilities were as yet undefined and the staff was responding primarily to crises and deadlines. More importantly, the service program scheduled for 1968 was expected to be large, consisting of possibly as many as twelve hundred (1,200) projects.

During the next few months a major reorientation of Follow Through was accomplished. Emphasis on a service program was abandoned to be replaced by emphasis on an experimental program. The idea of model sponsors was developed and implementation of the program with sponsors playing a major role came to be a central feature of Follow Through.

How did this reorientation come about? In an earlier section, we have indicated a shift in intellectual climate from a reliance on service programs toward an emphasis on research and development. This shift in intellectual climate had a significant influence on this reorientation, but in a subtle and rather indirect way. First of all, we would propose that negative findings that might have undermined the rationale for a service program tended notto be understood at first and that the implications of these findings tended to be resisted. There was a time delay between the initial availability of certain "negative" results and their acceptance. Secondly, these negative findings tended to cast doubt about the effectiveness of existing programs but did not have immediate implications for the development of alternatives. Thus, they suggested that an existing course of action might be inadequate but provided little guidance for the selection of alternative courses of action. Finally, it would appear that these discouraging findings acted primarily as a set of predisposing conditions - predisposing towards acceptance of an alternative rationale. But redirection took place only in response to a precipitating event which led to the formulation of a revised Follow Through program.

What were the predisposing conditions? To some extent, they were the disquieting findings from Head Start and the Coleman report to which we have already alluded. In addition, there was something to be learned from the experience obtained with these forty (40) pilot projects. An evaluation effort had been supported in connection with these projects but the study design was flawed in many respects and Follow Through felt that the results could not be relied upon. Nevertheless, the staff appears to have had misgivings about the success of these pilot projects: at least, they were in operation but the results were not uniformly impressive. In addition, the rationale for these projects was quite unclear. The Advisory Committee had stated that "The Follow Through Program is viewed as a unique challenge to develop and strengthen programs of early childhood education for all children while placing special emphasis on children who have participated in earlier preschool projects. No single model is offered. Rather, imagination and creativity and the use of a variety of approaches is encouraged."[15] One has the impression that the staff was not sufficiently impressed with these unsponsored projects and that the "unique challege" of Follow Through was not being met.

Then during November, 1967 through February, 1968, the U. S. Office of Education sponsored three conferences that helped both to predispose as well as to precipitate the Follow Through reorientation. "One series of meetings involved experts in the fields of early childhood education, social organization, training, research, and the behavioral sciences -- e.g. Robert Hess, Halbert Robinson, Milton Akers, Gene Glass, Sheldon White, and Susan Stodolsky. A second series of meetings included program developers -- persons who had gained recognition for planning, describing, and initiating new program approaches which appeared to have some promise for working with young, poor, children. This group included such persons as Glen Nimnicht, Dave Weikert, Ira Gordon, Leonard Sealey, Marie Hughes, Larry Gotkin, Donald Baer, and Siegfried Engelmann. The third series of meetings included local, state, and regional OEO and education representatives."[16] The first series of meetings would appear to have provided support for the idea of a program of research, development, and experimentation. The second series of meetings would appear to have had a rather different but most important influence. It led to the identification of potential sponsors and to an awareness of the variety of compensatory programs that were currently being developed.

---

15. Preliminary Report of the National Advisory Committee. p. 4.

16. Robert Egbert, op. cit., p. 9.

This brings us to the precipitating event which has to do with the support available from the Federal Government. On December 23, 1967, the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 was amended by Congress. In addition, to providing for the continuation of Head Start, Follow Through was authorized in the following terms:

"A program to be known as 'Follow Through' focused primarily upon children in kindergarten or elementary school who were previously enrolled in Head Start or similar programs and designed to provide comprehensive services and parent participation activities as described in paragraph (1), which the Director finds will aid in the continued development of children to their full potential. Funds for such a program shall be provided by the Secretary on the basis of agreements reached with the Director directly to local educational agencies except as otherwise provided by such agreements."[17]

When this legislation was first proposed, the assumption was still being made that Follow Through would operate as a service program with an initial budget of $120,000,000. "However, in the fall of 1967, before the legislation was enacted, it became known that OEO probably would receive substantially less money than had been requested and that Follow Through, as a new program, would receive little, if any, funding. The decision was therefore made and agreed to by OEO, PHEW, USOE, and OMB (BOB) that Follow Through -- for the time being -- should be an experimental program designed to produce information which would be useful 'when' the program was expanded to nationwide service proportions."[18] And the initial budget for Follow Through was reduced to $15,000,000. for the year 1968-69.

17. Ibid. p 7.

18. Robert Egbert. op. cit., p. 8.

Although there appears to be widespread agreement on the "fact" of program reorientation from service to research and development, there was and perhaps still is disagreement about the justification for this reorientation. For example, there are those who believe that the reduction in budget that precipitated the change was a blessing in disguise. They would also believe that an experimental program was to be preferred, quite apart from any budgetary limitations. They might also be opposed to a large program as less manageable and less appropriate if one wished to maximize the long-run impact of the program. At another extreme, there are those who would view the emphasis on experimentation as a necessary compromise, justifiable only because of limitations of funds. These proponents might feel that a small program is better than none and that a larger, service-oriented program should be manned as soon as funds were available. These differences in orientation were not resolved when these decisions to reorient the program were being made and are still pertinent to current disagreements over evaluating the program's effectiveness and planning for the future of Follow Through.

During the next few months, the meaning of sponsorship as it pertains to Follow Through was further developed. Potential sponsors and communities were identified and a suitable form of courtship between sponsors and communities took place, eventuating in a series of marriages (agreements) between sponsors and communities. By 1968-69, ninety-one (91) projects had been funded and were in operation, serving fifteen thousand, five hundred (15,500) students. Fourteen (14) sponsors were working with these projects and the total budget was approximately $13,250,000. Let us review the process by means of which this expansion of the Follow Through program was accomplished.

First of all, how does one recruit potential sponsors and communities? Recruitment poses a problem of communications in order to locate and encourage possible applicants. In the case of sponsors, Dr. Richard Snyder and Miss Frieda Denenmark, of Follow Through, carefully contacted people who might have new ideas as well as others who might have access to information about new developments. This latter group of people might be viewed as informants or gatekeepers who might be expected to keep up with the current state of affairs. Some of these held key positions in the government, such as Dr. Marian Sherman of the Bureau of Educational Research, National Center for Educational Research and Development. To some extent, the recruitment of sponsors may have been biased by the particular set of informants known to Follow Through, but we have no reason to believe that this bias was significant. Then these potential sponsors were invited to a series of meetings - the second set of meetings to which we have already referred. In these meetings, possible sponsors described what they were doing and what they would do if working with Follow Through. "From the presentations at these meetings, it was obvious that despite the extensive publicity given various new programs, no one was fully prepared to move into the primary grades with a completely developed, radically different program. (For example, the highly publicized Engelmann program was partially developed for preschool (kindergarten) but not beyond.) However, a number of approaches seemed to be sufficiently well developed and to have enough institutional support that including them in Follow Through was justified."[19] At that time, it became apparent, that the number of potential sponsors exceeded the number of independently different new approaches: i.e., certain sponsors shared in common a particular theoretical orientation so that their proposed programs were similar although not identical. Some attempt was made by Follow Through to encourage sponsors with similar orientations to work together. Perhaps, because of the strong institutional identifications of most of the sponsors, this effort to combine sponsors proved to be impossible and the decision was made to recognize each sponsor as a separate entity. Eventually, eighteen (18) groups were encouraged to submit proposals, sixteen (16) actually did so and fourteen (14) groups were chosen to serve as the first group of sponsors.

---

[19] Robert Egbert. op. cit., p. 10.

There was a third set of meetings that took place and included local, State and Federal education and OEO representatives. These were the informants or gate-keepers who played an essential role in the recruitment of communities. A number of important decisions came out of this series of meetings, namely, a) that communities could be preselected by a process of nominations from State Education agencies; b) that communities would be required to choose from among a restricted set of educational approaches (i.e. a sponsor); c) that communities would be required to contribute some matching funds, either Title I funds equal to 15% of the EOA grant or 10% of their Title funds, whichever was less; and d) that involvement of parents and other representatives of the community in program planning and operation would also be required. It should also be noted that the existing unsponsored pilot projects were also invited to participate; it was anticipated that they too would become sponsored projects, although they were actually given an option to continue as unsponsored.

In a sense, these networks of informants performed the functions of a matchmaker; they identified the potential brides and grooms who, up to this point in time, had not met each other. Accordingly, two important meetings were held to bring together sponsors and communities. One meeting was held in Kansas City, Missouri on February 20-24, 1968 for potential sponsors and the forty (40) pilot communities. A second meeting was held, also in Kansas City on February 25-28, 1968 for sponsors and fifty-one (51) new communities who had been invited to participate in the Follow Through program. These fifty-one (51) communities were among two hundred and twenty five (225) nominated initially by State Economic Opportunity offices and subsequently screened by regional selection panels.

Somehow, communities were able to identify the sponsor or sponsors that they preferred and we wish we knew more about how these decisions were made. Some sponsors who made presentations at these meetings have indicated that they found the meetings to be very confusing and anxiety-provoking. Only a limited time twenty - thirty (20-30) minutes was available for a presentation from each sponsor. Moreover, consider the plight of a community representative who has listened to fourteen presentations and must attempt to assimilate this confusing mass of information about similarities and differences in order to reach a decision. There was one additional influence that should not be ignored. Most community representatives had available a general consultant, who often was familiar with some of the alternative programs being described. We have reason to believe that the general consultants, when trusted, had considerable influence on the decisions being made by communities. Also, community representatives were undoubtedly influenced by impressions about the personality characteristics of sponsors - their openness, confidence, style, persuasiveness - as obtained from these and subsequent meetings.

It is our impression that the decision-making process was rather one-sided: the initiative rested with the communities. Sponsors were apparently inclined to accept community offers,with the exception that some sponsors received too many offers and felt that they must set some upper limits on the commitments that they would undertake.

Since that time, additional projects and sponsors have been added but following by and large the procedures that were developed in 1968. The resulting expansion of Follow Through is summarized as follows:

School Year	Funds Spent in The School Year	Project Grants	Poor Children	Sponsors
1967-68	$ 3,750,000.	39	2,900	0
1968-69	13,250,000.	91	15,500	14
1969-70	32,200,000.	148	37,000	20
1970-71	57,000,000.	160	60,163	20
1971-72	69,000,000.	160	75,000	20

Through the reliance on sponsors and community projects, the program of Follow Through is decentralized. Follow Through, as limited to the staff in Washington, has no direct involvement with local schools. Their influence is indirect: they subcontract to sponsors and projects and then attempt to influence the activities of the subcontracting agencies. In Chapters III, IV, and V we will review in detail how Follow Through is organized in order to coordinate the efforts of sponsors and projects, and the evaluation effort. We will conclude this section with a quotation describing two of the assumptions that are basic to the present Follow Through program.

"1. The most distinctive characteristic of Follow Through is the meshing of two objectives -- (a) service and (b) research and development. In other words, both the mandate to provide -- comprehensive services and parent participation activities -- which will aid in the continued development of children to their full potential, and the top priority goal of developing, implementing and studying alternative approaches to working with young children, are essential to the nature of Follow Through. These two objectives are not viewed as discrete or competing aspects of the program.

"2. The focus in Follow Through is on improving the child's 'life chances', not simply on improving his chances to succeed in school. Therefore, the program emphasizes a variety of aspects of the child's development, including such elements as his self-respect, self-confidence, initiative, autonomy, academic achievement, task persistence, creativity, and good health. The program works with a range of institutions on which the child must depend for his continued development, such as the family, school, community health services, and the welfare department."[20]

In short, only portions of the program are available for experimentation. Specifically, experimentation within the instructional component is expected and is a major responsibility of the sponsor. But there are other service components to the program and these are a major responsibility of the sponsor and of the local community.

---

[20] Robert Egbert. op. cit., p. 18.

Reorientation

This intermediate stage of development may be said to have ended in July, 1971 and Follow Through began to enter a period of reorientation.

In order to describe the transition that was about to take place, we need to assess some of the major accomplishments of Follow Through during the intermediate stage of development and to consider what remained to be done in the future. There exist a variety of statements of the overall objective of Follow Through but Dr. Egbert's statement that Follow Through "should be an experimental program designed to produce information which would be useful 'when' the program was expanded to nationwide service proportions,"[21] is deserving of further attention. It implies that the program has both a short-run and a long-run objective. In the short-run, the objective had been to establish a demonstration program. It is this purpose that had dominated the intermediate phase and Follow Through appears to have been quite successful in accomplishing this limited purpose.

What remained to be accomplished? Most importantly, the experimental program was not yet at an end. It would not be completed until some students had actually graduated from the Follow Through program, i.e., had completed the third grade. In Figure 1, there is reproduced a diagramatic representation of critical events in the Follow Through program.[22] Certain

---

21. Egbert, op. cit., p. 8.

22. This figure is reproduced from the National Follow Through Program Budget Presentation MFY 1972, Figure 5.

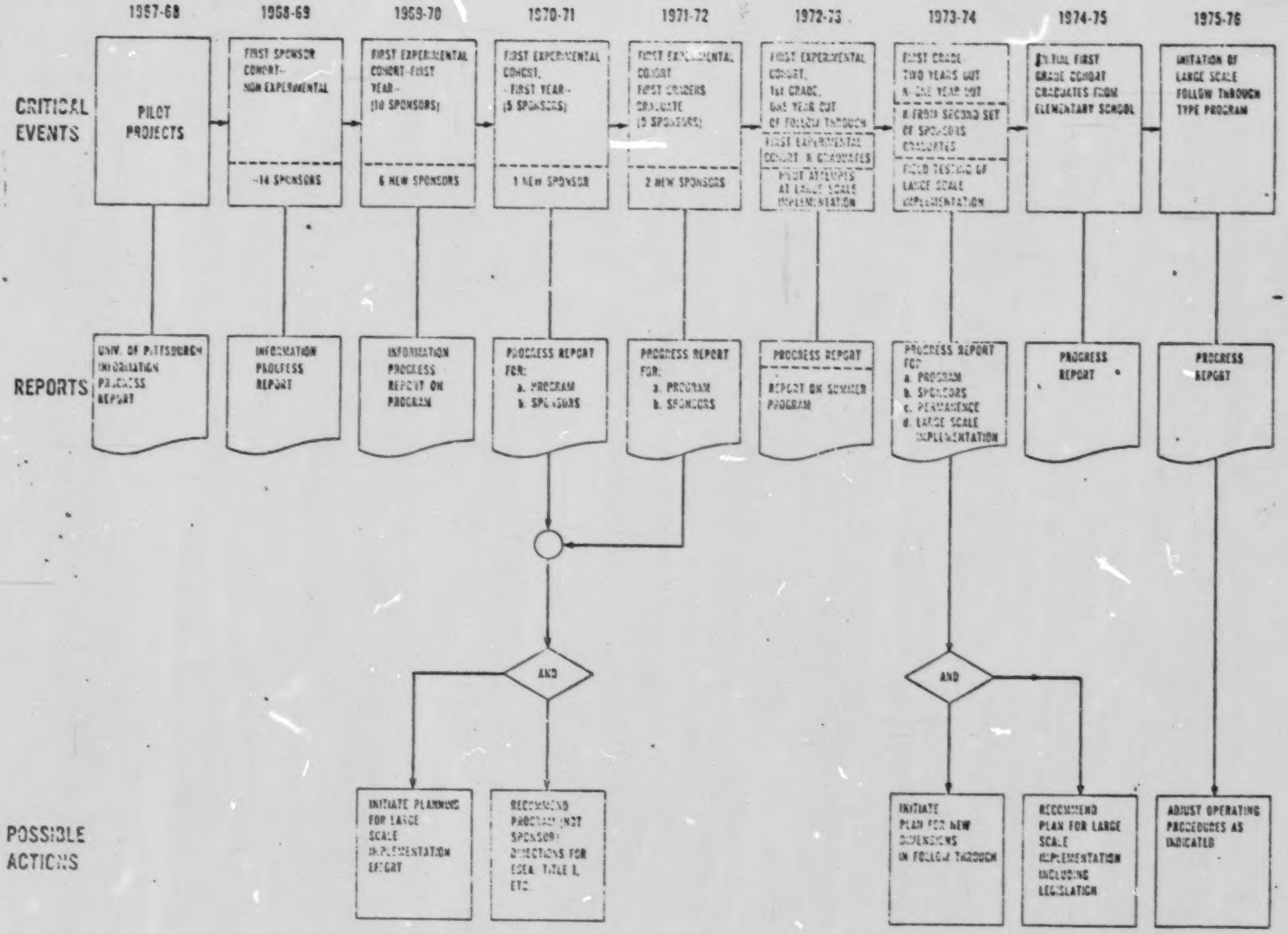
1967-68
1968-69
1969-70
1970-71
1971-72
1972-73
1973-74
1974-75
1975-76
CRITICAL EVENTS
PILOT PROJECTS
FIRST SPONSOR COHORT-- NON EXPERIMENTAL
--14 SPONSORS
FIRST EXPERIMENTAL COHORT--FIRST YEAR-- (10 SPONSORS)
6 NEW SPONSORS
FIRST EXPERIMENTAL COHORT, --FIRST YEAR-- (5 SPONSORS)
1 NEW SPONSOR
FIRST EXPERIMENTAL COHORT FIRST GRADERS GRADUATE (5 SPONSORS)
2 NEW SPONSORS
FIRST EXPERIMENTAL COHORT, 1st GRADE, ONE YEAR OUT OF FOLLOW THROUGH
FIRST EXPERIMENTAL COHORT, K GRADUATES
PILOT ATTEMPTS AT LARGE SCALE IMPLEMENTATION
FIRST GRADE TWO YEARS OUT K-ONE YEAR OUT
K-FROM SECOND SET OF SPONSORS GRADUATES
FIELD TESTING OF LARGE SCALE IMPLEMENTATION
INITIAL FIRST GRADE COHORT GRADUATES FROM ELEMENTARY SCHOOL
INITATION OF LARGE SCALE FOLLOW THROUGH TYPE PROGRAM
REPORTS
UNIV. OF PITTSBURGH INFORMATION PROCESS REPORT
INFORMATION PROGRESS REPORT
INFORMATION PROGRESS REPORT ON PROGRAM
PROGRESS REPORT FOR: a. PROGRAM b. SPONSORS
PROGRESS REPORT FOR: a. PROGRAM b. SPONSORS
PROGRESS REPORT
REPORT ON SUMMER PROGRAM
PROGRESS REPORT FOR a. PROGRAM b. SPONSORS c. PERMANENCE d. LARGE SCALE IMPLEMENTATION
PROGRESS REPORT
PROGRESS REPORT
AND
AND
POSSIBLE ACTIONS
INITIATE PLANNING FOR LARGE SCALE IMPLEMENTATION EFFORT
RECOMMEND PROGRAM (NOT SPONSOR) DIRECTIONS FOR ESEA, TITLE I, ETC.
INITIATE PLAN FOR NEW DIMENSIONS IN FOLLOW THROUGH
RECOMMEND PLAN FOR LARGE SCALE IMPLEMENTATION INCLUDING LEGISLATION
ADJUST OPERATING PROCEDURES AS INDICATED

FIGURE 1 DIAGRAMMATIC REPRESENTATION OF FOLLOW THROUGH OUTPUT SCHEDULE

elements in this figure are a key to the reorientation of the current Follow Through effort. In 1971-72, the first experimental cohort that entered Follow Through as first graders were to graduate from the third grade, the completion of the Follow Through program. However, only nine sponsors would have been involved with this group of children. In 1972-73, the first experimental cohort that entered Follow Through in kindergarten would graduate from the third grade and the experimental cohort that completed Follow Through in 1971-72 would have completed one additional year of schooling following their participation in the Follow Through Program. Egbert anticipated that 1973-74 would be a critical year for the evaluation of the present experimental program.

"The initial first grade cohort will have been out of Follow Through two years; the initial kindergarten cohort and the second first grade cohort will have been out of Follow Through for one year; and six identifiable subcohorts will have graduated from Follow Through. The 1974 Follow Through Progress Report will contain a tremendous amount of information, including program results, sponsor comparisons and contrasts, the permanence--or the conditions for insuring permanence--of Follow Through efforts, and the results of pilot, large scale implementation efforts. Based on this information, the action implications are: (a) recommendation of a plan, including legislation, for full scale implementation of a Follow Through-type program; and (b) initiation of a plan for new dimensions in Follow Through."[23]

---

[23] Egbert. op. cit., p. 27.

Thus the experimental program was beginning to produce and would be producing over the next two years "information" but the implications of this information for the future had not yet been established. Moreover, how the program might be reoriented or expanded, but perhaps not necessarily as a larger service program, had not yet been determined. We should point out that this information for assessing the implications of Follow Through is by means limited to the research reports that are expected from SRI. The information available from sponsors, projects, and communities is equally important.

Nevertheless, beginning in July 1971, Follow Through entered a period of reorientation in which attention began to focus on the long-run objectives of Follow Through and on how the developmental phase might be succeeded by a more extensive effort. Let us now review briefly some of the key elements in this reorientation.

In November, 1970, Dr. Egbert had announced his resignation as Director of Follow Through in order to accept a position as Dean of the School of Education, University of Nebraska. Upon his departure on June 30, 1970, he was replaced by Ms. Rosemary Wilson as Acting Director. Her position as Director was later confirmed and she has continued to function in this position.

Later in summer 1971, Dr. Snyder accepted a special assignment within OE to work with a special task force and has been on leave from his position with Follow Through. His position was filled at first on an interim basis, first by Ned Chalker, then by Fred Bresnick, until a new acting Chief of Research and Evaluation - Dr. Garry McDaniels - was named in November 1971.

Thus, there were some changes in key positions just as this period began.

Coincidental with these changes in personnel, there were some changes in the relationship between Follow Through and certain offices within OE to which it reports. Prior to these changes, Follow Through had been able to function quite autonomously, with relatively little supervision from other offices within OE. To be specific, Follow Through is a branch of the Division of Compensatory Education which in turn reports to the Bureau of Elementary and Secondary Education.[24] By and large, Dr. Egbert had functioned as a buffer between Follow Through, the Division, the Bureau, and other offices within OE.

During this period, some significant reservations were being expressed about Follow Through which seemed to focus on two specific issues. One issue had to do with the future of Follow Through and with the transition from a relatively small developmental program to a more extensive service program on a national scale. As subsidiary issues, there were questions about the timing of the transition (when would Follow Through be ready), how it might be funded, since existing legislation made no provisions for such an expansion, and about the possible continuation of some additional development, along with the expansion.

Let us note that certain potential conflicts, particularly over timing, were already beginning to develop. For example, consider the following statements made by Egbert concerning the future of Follow Through:

"Follow Through should be viewed as a continuing effort with specific outputs planned for successive budget-making cycles. Of course, the types of information available will increase in both number and importance over the next three to five years."

---

[24] For more detail on the administration of the Follow Through Branch, see Chapter V.

"If results of Follow Through appear promising, new legislation with new and expanded funding should be requested. However, specific provision should also be made for continuation of extensive experimentation with widely differing approaches to meeting the educational-developmental needs of Follow Through age children."[25]

The likely points of conflict were as follows:

1. Although Egbert expected that critical decisions about the future of Follow Through and about a plan for large-scale implementation should be postponed until 1973-74 (see Figure 1), opinions were also being expressed that these decisions could not be postponed until that time. The problem was partly political in that Follow Through was being asked to justify itself and to demonstrate that the program was indeed successful.

2. Egbert was also predicting that critical decisions ought to be made over a period of time, as a sequence of decisions based upon successive outputs from the evaluation effort. Nevertheless, there was the possibility that one would have to focus on one major decision that would set the stage in the future, although some secondary decisions might await the availability of some additional reports.

3. Finally, Egbert was predicting that continuing experimentation would be necessary to accompany any large-scale program of implementation.

[25] Egbert. op. cit., p. 19.

A second closely related issue had to do with the administration of the evaluation effort. Concern was being expressed that it was neither well-designed nor carefully enough administered. There was the additional concern that the evaluation effort would not be adequately prepared for the policy decisions about the future that would soon have to be made. These concerns were shared within the Follow Through Branch as well as by a number of other key individuals in OE.[26]

During Summer 1971, a number of changes were introduced in response to these major criticisms that represented a rather significant reorientation of the Follow Through effort.

1. Responsibility for monitoring the evaluation effort was shifted from Follow Through (Research and Evaluation) to the Office of Program Planning and Evaluation of the Bureau of Elementary and Secondary Education. The implications of this change were two-fold: to exercise much closer control over the evaluation effort and to make the locus of control to be outside of Follow Through. Responsibility for the evaluation effort was returned to Follow Through in December 1971. Nevertheless, there was continuing emphasis on closer control of the evaluation effort and on closer control over Follow Through being exercised by its superiors.

2. With respect to the long-range issues, in July 1971, a five-year plan was made public that dealt quite explicitly with a possible

[26] For a more extensive discussion of this issue, see Chapter IV.

large-scale implementation of Follow Through. The plan was announced by Mr. Richard Fairley, Director of the Division of Compensatory Education. Its most important features are suggested by the following quotation:

"In order to begin proliferation of successful practices as they evolve from Follow Through research and evaluation to the 8 million students served by Title I, a five year plan has been developed that calls for the achievement of the following three objectives by 1976:

1. The phased introduction of State-administered Follow Through/Title I match grant programs in all States that will extend Follow Through - tested successful practices to an initial 265,000 Title I students;

2. The continuation of research and developmental efforts to the conclusion of a minimum of five complete groups of children graduating from Follow Through; and

3. An expansion of Follow Through longitudinal evaluation to include post-Follow Through grades.

These objectives, combining continued experimentation and phased proliferation, mark the Office of Education commitment in compensatory education to planned impact of research activities (Follow Through) on regular programs activity (Title I)."[27]

The five-year plan is an imaginative attempt to give structure

---

27. Division of Compensatory Education, the Follow Through Program: Five Year Plan, Unpublished Memorandum. June, 1971, p. 2.

to the long-range future of Follow Through and is quite consistent with the numerous statements that had been made in the past concerning the long-run future of Follow Through.

Although it was not immediately apparent, it soon became clear that the plan had some of the following implications.

1. The very existence of the plan was apparently essential for the protection and preservation of the Follow Through effort. Follow Through had been vulnerable as long as its long-range objectives remained unclear. By clarifying these objectives, the Division of Compensatory Education had been able to propose how the developmental aspects of the program would be followed by a planned operational expansion.

2. By relating Follow Through to the Title I effort, a possible solution to the problem of funding an expansion was being proposed. In terms of funds, Title I is much larger than Follow Through. Thus, the suggestion was being made that Follow Through could be partially expanded through cooperation with an already funded program. As a corollary, there were potential advantages for Title I. By combining forces with a program of research and development, Title I ought to be able to improve its effectiveness in bringing about desirable changes in elementary education. A second corollary was that Follow Through would no longer function as independently as it had in the past: it would have to work in much closer cooperation with the Division of Compensatory Education.

3. Even though Follow Through's expansion was being tied to an operational program (Title I), the problem of long-range funding was

by no means resolved. Indeed, Fairley made it quite clear that additional legislation would be necessary for the support of any major expansion.

4. From a long-range point of view one could now begin to characterize Follow Through in the following way. It's first stage of development had been devoted to demonstration and planned variation, in which alternative educational programs had an opportunity to demonstrate their effectiveness. This stage was about to come to an end. The second stage would be transitional and directed toward the transfer of responsibility to states for the expansion of the program. Indeed, five states[28] were funded for 1972-73 to begin making appropriate plans. The third stage would be to transform Follow Through into an operational program by working through states (SEA's) and Title I. But there was a clear implication that the expansion would be based upon those sponsor programs and projects that had been evaluated as successful during the demonstration stage.

As we write in March, 1973, the five-year plan reconsideration within OE and its future is very much in doubt. Nevertheless, a reorientation to the Follow Through program has taken place, having the following important characteristics. (1) The earlier independent and somewhat autonomous status of Follow Through has come to an end and it now functions as a more closely controlled component of OE's activities. (2) More specifically, Follow Through has begun to work in close cooperation with the Division of Compensatory Education. (3) A possible model for the translation of Follow Through into an operational program has been proposed, although it appears unlikely that the implementation of this program will ever take place. What is clear is that the demonstration phase of Follow Through is about to be completed.

---

[28] These states are Arkansas, California, Michigan, New Jersey and North Carolina.

CHAPTER THREE

SPONSOR PROGRAMS AND COMMUNITY PROJECTS

Introduction

For the purposes of this report, we have chosen for study two sponsors and four community projects, two of which are associated with each of the sponsors. Since there are twenty sponsors[1] and one hundred and seventy-three projects, these four projects can in no sense be viewed as a "sample" of either sponsors or projects. The sponsors were chosen with one criterion in mind: they represent two rather different educational approaches within the Follow Through Program.

In what follows, we will refer to the two sponsors as "Sponsor A" and "Sponsor B". Sponsor A emphasizes Behavior Analysis as the theoretical foundation for his educational program. He is one of several sponsors who makes use of a well-structured curriculum, usually broken down into a carefully organized series of learning units. Sponsor A also emphasizes the involvement of parents into the program, as we shall discuss subsequently.

Sponsor B is somewhat more difficult to characterize. He is one of several sponsors who has been influenced by the British "open classroom" programs. He is also influenced by theories of intellectual development about how higher-order intellectual operations enter into effective learning and the effective use of knowledge. Although the objectives of Sponsor B's curriculum are rather well-defined, the curriculum itself is kept flexible.

---

[1] For more information about similarities and differences among sponsors see Eleanor E. Maccoby and Miriam Zellner, Experiments in Primary Education: Aspects of Project Follow-Through. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1970.

At the risk of some over-simplification, Sponsor A is within the modern behaviorist tradition while Sponsor B is more influenced by cognitive and developmental theorists such as Piaget, Bruner, etc. and the British open classrooms.

Again for the purposes of convenience, we will refer to the two projects associated with Sponsor A as Projects (and/or Communities) A1 and A2 and to the two projects associated with Sponsor B as Projects B1 and B2. Any detailed discussion of the characteristics of these four communities is beyond the scope of this report, but we can at least review some of the more important features of each. Community A1 is located in a mid-western state and has a population of approximately 65,000. The black population of this community is approximately 8,500 and there is a modest number of residents who are primarily speakers of Spanish (Puerto-Rican and Cuban). Although Community A1 is not far from certain large urban centers, it does not function as a suburb of any larger community, but rather as a relatively independent political unit.

Community A2 is located in a relatively large urban center in the mid-west. This community's population is 555,000 although it is the center of a metropolitan area with a population of 1,235,000. The black population of this community is approximately 112,000.

Community B1 has a population of 207,000. It is also located in the mid-west. The community itself is substantially industrialized, although its surroundings are predominantly rural and agricultural. It has a black population of approximately 18,000.

Community B2 resembles B1 in that it is a relatively industrialized center in the mid-west, having a population of 155,000, but its surroundings are primarily agricultural. The black population of this community is approximately 12,000.

There are some important respects in which these four communities are a rather unrepresentative subset of the one hundred and seventy-three projects that make up Follow Through. All four are located in the mid-west. More specifically, there are no communities that we have studied that are either characteristic of the South or South-West. Secondly, they are all of moderate size, with only one project located in a major urban center. There are no really large cities included, i.e., with populations in excess of 1,000,000. Finally, black families are the largest minority group in each of these four communities.

We should point out that there is a rather complex set of interrelationships between the Head Start Program and Follow Through. The Follow Through guidelines more or less require that any local community associated with Follow Through also participate in Head Start. For example, the guidelines contain the following statement: "Until more projects are available, participation in Follow Through will be restricted to only those communities that have operated a full-year 1) Head Start or comparable pre-school program 2) and that have been specifically invited to submit applications. Invitations will be extended to communities selected with the assistance of Regional Office of Economic Opportunity, State Educational Agency, and State Economic Opportunity Office officials."[2]

[2] Follow Through Program Manual, Feb. 24, 1969., p. 3.

There is an additional requirement that "with rare exceptions, at least half of the low-income children in each Follow Through project must be graduates of a full-year Head Start or comparable pre-school program."[3] As a consequence, local communities working with Follow Through can also be expected to have a Head Start program and, in general, the involvement with Head Start preceded the involvement with Follow Through.

There are some secondary consequences to this interplay between Follow Through and Head Start. Some Sponsors, but not all, are running Head Start as well as Follow Through projects. This is true for both Sponsor A and Sponsor B. Moreover, the Stanford Research Institute is involved through separate contracts both with the evaluation of Head Start as well as Follow Through. Finally, there is an emphasis in the evaluation on a comparison of the relative effectiveness of Follow Through for children who either did or did not participate in the Head Start program.

There is one administrative complication to the relationship between Follow Through and Head Start. The two programs are funded separately. Although they are both administered from within the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, only Follow Through is within the Office of Education, under the Division of Compensatory Education, while Head Start is administered by the Office of Child Development. In what follows, we have not made a systematic attempt to study the interrelationships between the two programs, although these are undoubtedly important.

Initial Involvement of Sponsors

We asked each Sponsor how he had become involved with Follow Through. Each had had relevant interests as well as practical classroom experiences that had prepared him for and predisposed him towards participation in the Follow Through program. Similarly, it is our impression that the majority of sponsors have backgrounds that have prepared them for participation in Follow Through, in the form of relevant interests as well as practical experience.

---

[3] Follow Through Program Manual, p. 3.

Sponsor A

Sponsor A was trained as a sociologist but had become interested in elementary education about the time that he had completed his doctoral program. In some respects, he is as much interested in educational reform as he is in compensatory education per se and participation in a program of compensatory education provides him with an excellent opportunity to put his ideas about education into practice on a large scale. Shortly before becoming involved with Follow Through, he had worked with a small private school and had been successful in developing a curriculum based upon the principles of behavior analysis. He found this experience to be very rewarding and began to look for an opportunity to work within a public school system. Then he joined the faculty of a different university. By coincidence, there is a more senior professor at this university who had participated in the early planning for Follow Through. This individual was involved in the decision that Follow Through would make use of "Sponsors" as part of a program of planned variation; this individual suggested to Sponsor A that he might be interested in Follow Through. Sponsor A was immediately excited by the possibilities. Within a few weeks, he had attended a Follow Through planning meeting and was invited to attend the two meetings, held in Kansas City, at which potential sponsors had an opportunity to describe their programs and ideas to potential projects. Sponsor A describes these meetings as a "fiasco". Undoubtedly, he is expressing his lack of satisfaction both with the meetings in general and with his own performance at them. At each of these meetings, he had an opportunity to talk for twenty minutes to community representatives about his educational program. There are several reasons why he found this to be a frustrating experience. **He had had** little experience in dealing with this particular kind of audience and felt that he did not know how to communicate effectively with them. In addition, he felt that the whole series of presentations to community representatives was inevitably confusing; it was difficult to believe that these representatives could absorb the series of presentations and make an intelligent evaluation of the different approaches. Finally, neither Sponsor A nor most of the other Sponsors were as yet prepared to take over full responsibility for the kind of program that it was anticipated Follow Through would become. To be specific, no sponsor had a fully developed curriculum suitable for working with children in kindergarten through the third grade although most had had some limited experience with children within this age range. At any rate, Sponsor A came away from these meetings somewhat discouraged about the impression he had made and uncertain that any community would be particularly interested in what he had to offer.

In retrospect, it seems clear that it is difficult to communicate successfully by means of a short lecture very much about a particular Sponsor's approach. Visiting actual classrooms in operation is undoubtedly a much more effective means of communication.

In spite of this discouraging initiation, Sponsor A did reach agreements with five communities during the spring of 1968 and began working with them during the school year of 1968-69. Most of these communities were directed to Sponsor A either by someone from the Follow Through Branch or from a State Office of Education or Office of Economic Opportunity. This first year of operation has been viewed by Follow Through as a developmental year, a period during which sponsors could develop the necessary materials as well as the skills, staff, and organization that would be essential for the operation of successful local projects. Neither of the Projects A1 and A2 was initiated during this developmental year. In 1969, Sponsor A agreed to work with an additional seven projects and communities A1 and A2 are among these additions.

Let us introduce at this point a bit of terminology that we will continue to follow. Sponsor A always refers to his Program as the total set of Follow Through activities with which he is engaged. He refers to the activities associated with a single community as a Project. This terminology will also be followed when discussing Sponsor B's program and projects. Moreover, for purposes of confidentiality, we will use fictitious names both for referring to schools as well as to key individuals who have been active in the program.

Sponsor B

The program run by Sponsor B is actually part of a larger program on Early Childhood Education, whereas Sponsor A's programs with Follow Through and Head Start are more or less self-contained. Moreover, the program at University B was actually initiated by someone very active in the field of Early Childhood Education who has since retired, whom we will refer to as Professor Hawks.

Professor Hawks had begun work with children who drop out of school in 1963 and this effort was part of a Child Study Center. Then from 1965-68, some research was undertaken on the special educational needs of Mexican-American children. Concentrating primarily on a demonstration program centered in a single school, this program was funded initially from Title I funds. When funding was obtained for a Center for Early Childhood Education, this exploratory program was absorbed into the activities of the Center. Professor Hawks was the first director of the Center while Professor Allen was responsible for the special program with Mexican-American children. Then in January, 1968, Professor Hawks was approached by the Director of Follow Through about participating in the program. She and Professor Allen were enthusiastic and took part in the 1968 presentations in Kansas City. As a result of these meetings, they received requests from thirty-six communities who wanted their help in starting a Follow Through project and they accepted fourteen of these. Four additional projects were added in the following year.

In the case of Program A, leadership has always been taken by a single individual who is director of the program. In the case of Program B, leadership is divided among a pair of individuals. Initially, the program was effectively run by Professor Hawks, having the title of Director of the Center for Early Childhood Education, and Professor Allen, having the title of Follow Through Director. However, Professor Hawks retired at the end of the academic year, 1969-70 and has moved to another area. Thus, she is no longer involved in the program. At that time, Professor Allen was promoted to the position of Director of the

Center, while the original Associate Director of Follow Through, Dr. Foley, moved into the position of Director. However, the leadership for Program B is effectively shared by this pair of individuals.

Sponsor B began working with Project B1 in the first year of the sponsored program (1968-69) while Project B2 was added in the following year.

Sponsors' Organizations

One of the first impressions one has of these two sponsors is that they are both responsible for large organizations; this is understandable since Sponsor A is responsible for twelve projects while Sponsor B is responsible for eighteen. More specifically, Sponsor A's Follow Through budget was approximately $280,000 for fiscal year 1971; for a similar period, Sponsor B's budget was $384,000. Interestingly enough, Sponsor A's staff consists of nearly one hundred individuals, many of whom are part-time employees, for a full-time equivalent total of sixty-eight individuals. Sponsor B's staff includes nearly sixty individuals for a full-time equivalent total of forty-five. Later, we will review in more detail the responsibilities of these individuals, but it is useful to note that the staff of either sponsor's organization, when converted to full-time equivalents, is larger than the staff of the Follow Through Branch in Washington. Moreover, by comparison with other projects based at a university, these are large projects as measured either in terms of staff or financial resources.

Each of these sponsors has been operating with Follow Through for the past three years. In reviewing the development of their organizations, it will be useful to separate their experiences into three stages of development as follows. In each case, there was an initial stage that preceded their involvement with Follow Through during which time a Sponsor's point of view about education was formed and he had some opportunity to put these ideas into practice. During this initial phase, each sponsor was making certain personal commitments about his career and about the way in which he could contribute to his profession. At this stage, the Sponsor's administrative responsibilities were limited and he worked with a small organization: i.e. both Sponsors were directly and closely involved with the demonstration classrooms. In other words, their roles and activities were directly related to classroom activities and they were closely and intimately involved in the implementation of the educational program.

A second stage of development began as soon as they became involved with Follow Through; it continued for the next three years, bringing them up to the present. During this stage, there was a major redefinition of the Sponsor's role as he became responsible for forming an organization designed to implement his program. In addition, Sponsors had to solve a variety of organizational problems for which there was little precedent, including the following: what roles should be included in this organization, how should the program be incorporated into their local university setting, how should relationships be established to the local projects, how should they recruit for additions to their staff, and how should they carry out the variety of training responsibilities that were essential to the implementation of the program? By way of analogy, in the first stage, each Sponsor resembled a small businessman or entrepreneur who was just starting his own business and doing everything himself. In the second stage, each resembled a small businessman after the company had expanded and the founder of the company could no longer take direct responsibility for all activities. At the present time, the Sponsors are beginning to move into a third stage of development having to do with the re-examination of their program objectives and the possible expansion of their programs both within local communities as well as to other communities.

Let us review some of the organizational decisions that were made by these Sponsors during this second stage of development. For the most part, each Sponsor had to solve similar problems although the solutions they arrived at were often different. Each Sponsor had to work out some relationships between his program and the larger university setting. Sponsor A now has an academic appointment in a Department of Human Development and Family Life. When his Follow Through grant was first approved, it was administered through another department with which he was at that time affiliated. He found it very difficult to administer his program from within this original department and transferred his activities to the Department of Human Development and Family Life. This latter arrangement has been much more satisfactory. Indeed, Sponsor A has had previous experience with four other universities and feels that his program could not have operated successfully on any of these other campuses. In his opinion, he has received rather extraordinary support from this particular department.

Sponsor B's program works administratively through the College of Education and Professor Allen's appointment is in the Department of Educational Psychology. Follow Through itself is one of the main programs within the Center for Early Childhood Education, which in turn is part of the College of Education. In some respects, being part of a semi-autonomous center helps to provide Sponsor B with somewhat of a buffer between Follow Through and the university. Sponsor B has had some administrative difficulties with the university over the operation of his program although the present relationship is a reasonably satisfactory one.

It is our impression that Follow Through programs are difficult to administer in a university setting and could not function at all at some universities. Why should it be difficult to run a Follow Through program on a university campus? First of all, Follow Through confronts a university with some difficult and partially unprecedented administrative problems. The sheer volume of administrative paper work leads to complications. (Follow Through programs often have a need for more rapid and more flexible processing of requisitions than is usually possible at a university.) Secondly, there is the issue of whether or not the Follow Through program is perceived as contributing to the educational objectives of the university. For example, Sponsor A's difficulties with the first department with which he was affiliated followed from the fact that this department did not view his program as contributing to the objectives of the department while his current department views his activities as a positive contribution. A closely related question is whether or not students, either undergraduates or graduates, can use Follow Through experience as part of their programs of study. In this respect, Sponsor A is in a fortunate position. His department is interested in applications of behavior analysis to educational problems. Moreover graduate students can receive credit towards their degrees from participating in his program. As a result, graduate students play an important role in his organization.

Sponsor B is somewhat handicapped in that his program is not seen as contributing in an important way to the objectives of the College of Education. Being located at a state university, there is some feeling that the program ought to contribute more substantially to educational programs within the state rather than on a national scale. Although there are programs in Early Childhood Education as well as Educational Psychology, Professor Allen has felt that those in charge of these educational programs have not viewed Follow Through activities as particularly relevant to either of these programs. Moreover, it has been difficult for a graduate student to receive academic credit for work with Follow Through; as a consequence, graduate students play a less important role in the implementation of Sponsor B's program.

Finally, the fact that these programs operate on a nation-wide scale rather than locally leads to additional complications with the university. Both sponsors hire part-time people in connection with local community projects who reside in or near the local communities. This leads to questions about rates of pay, necessary qualifications, and conditions of supervision which are difficult to resolve. In short, the requirements for the implementation of the off-campus activities of these Follow Through programs raise some administrative issues with which universities are not well-equipped to deal.

A second organizational decision that Sponsors must make has to do with their relationships to local community projects and to the definition of certain key roles for working with these projects. Sponsor A's solution has been to define a single role of "District Advisor" as the primary link between Sponsor and local community. These district advisors represent the Sponsor's program to the community although, as we shall see, they are not in charge of the local projects. The district advisors are graduate students who are employed on a two-thirds time basis. Sponsor A has given a good deal of thought to his reliance on graduate students. He has reservations about the employment of full-time, non-graduate students in this role. Since they can't really be promoted, i.e., there are not long-run career opportunities, he believes that a full-time professional employee would not be as highly motivated as are his graduate students. On the other hand, he feels that the position would be impossible if it were defined as a conventional half-time research assistant. At any rate, his district advisors are highly motivated and clearly work many more hours than would normally be required of a two-third's time position. Sponsor A also feels that some of these graduate students would have dropped out of a conventional graduate program if it were not for the satisfactions derived from participation with Follow Through. The district advisors fill a very responsible and demanding position. They are responsible for implementing the parent participation portions of the program, the instructional program, and all other components of the Sponsor's program.

Sponsor A also makes use of an alternative role of "Program Consultant" in order to provide for liaison between Sponsor and certain communities. In many respects, program consultants may be viewed as district advisors who have left Sponsor A's university and have taken a full-time position, usually at some other university. They have usually had previous experience as a district advisor. It is not unlike a post-doctoral opportunity for an individual to receive additional experience with Follow Through, under the partial supervision of Sponsor A. By this means, he can expand his staff in a decentralized fashion and it is his intention to help prepare these program consultants for taking on additional responsibilities, possibly as full-fledged Sponsors.

Sponsor B provides for liaison between Follow Through and the community in a rather different way. There is one "Field Representative" assigned to each community who is responsible primarily for implementation of the instructional program but not for parent involvement. This Field Representative is the primary link between Sponsor and community. In addition, some projects but not all make use of a "Parent Involvement" coordinator who is responsible for parent involvement. With few exceptions, each field representative works with a single community while the parent involvement coordinator may work with more than one community. Finally, there are additional coordinators for psychological services, each of whom works with several communities.

Sponsor B also differs from Sponsor A in that he relies extensively on full-time professionals rather than graduate students to fill the role of field representatives. It is interesting to note that the rationale for this decision is a consequence of the type of educational program that is being implemented by Sponsor B. To be specific, Sponsor A's District Advisors need to be primarily knowledgeable about the principles of behavior analysis; they do not need to be experienced teachers. On the other hand, Sponsor B's instructional field representatives do need to be quite experienced teachers, knowledgeable both about class room activities as well as about curriculum development. Thus, the solution that is satisfactory for Sponsor A would be quite unsatisfactory for Sponsor B. Interestingly enough, Sponsor B often recruits individuals from local communities. Indeed, at the present time, half of the instructional field representatives have been recruited from local communities. In many respects, this is a perfectly reasonable method of recruiting. After all, in a local community, there are experienced teachers, some of whom have had experience with this Sponsor's program. Such individuals are well prepared for taking on additional responsibilities. On the university campus, there is not an abundant supply of individuals with appropriate qualifications.

Both of these Sponsors have given some consideration to the long-run career implications for an individual who may begin to work with the Sponsor's Follow Through program. What can such an individual expect to achieve? Both Sponsors believe that these positions of District Advisors and Field Representatives are temporary positions, to be valued as a way of acquiring experience but that individuals should expect to leave Follow Through for another type of position. Sponsor A's graduate students use Follow Through as a way to complete a graduate program and to learn about applications of Behavior Analysis. They may move on into an academic position in which they can apply what they have learned. Sponsor B's professionals can be more adequately described as experienced educators in a post-doctoral program. It would appear that they are likely to move into senior positions in a school system, perhaps in the field of special programs or compensatory education as a result of their experiences with Follow Through.

There appears to be one important implication to the different ways of relating to the community that are followed by Sponsors A and B. Since Sponsor A makes use of a single individual for liaison, it is somewhat easier for him to integrate all components of his program into a coherent whole. Since Sponsor B makes use of two and sometimes three individuals, there is a tendency for the separate components to operate somewhat independently of each other.

Just recently, Sponsor A has introduced one additional modification into his organization. For some time, there has been a recognition that District Advisors were overworked. Moreover, there has been a natural tendency for them to pay greatest attention to the implementation of the instructional component of the program. In terms of their background and training, they are more highly qualified to deal with issues about instruction. As a consequence, they have given less attention to the parent involvement component. Sponsor A has added to his staff a Parent Program Coordinator who will work with local Policy Advisory Committees and the District Advisors in order to strengthen parent involvement. Interestingly enough, Sponsor A emphasizes that the Parent Program Coordinator will work _for_ the District Advisor: i.e.,not independently of him. One of his first responsibilities will be to prepare some materials (a manual) for helping local people in their work with parents and for helping local parent trainers with their programs for training parent classroom aides.

There appear to be at least three reasons for the creation of this new position. First, there is the objective of redefining the position of District Advisor so that the demands on his time are more realistic. Secondly, this change represents a division of labor so that the District Advisor can concentrate on those responsibilities for which he is most qualified while the Parent Program Coordinator can utilize his own specialized skills in the area of community organization.

Finally, there are advantages to having an "outside" person work more closely with parents. Since the District Advisor must work closely within the school system, it is often difficult for him to remain on equally good terms with parents and school officials, particularly when these two groups may be in conflict.

A third organizational decision that Sponsors must make has to do with provisions for the training of personnel, both within the Sponsor's organization as well as at the local level. Sponsor A's current methods are the end-product of an evolutionary process and some very stressful experiences. During the first year, he set up an NDEA workshop for teachers who were about to take part in local projects. Since Sponsor A had not as yet recruited a staff, he "borrowed" staff from another university in order to run this workshop. After its conclusion, these teachers were observed in their classrooms during the next year. Sponsor A was quite dissatisfied with what he observed: the behavior of teachers was not consistent with the requirements of his educational model. Let us note here that Sponsors tend to have an image of how they want teachers to perform and attempt to train teachers to conform to this image.

As a result of this discouragement, Sponsor A developed a new training program. His staff set up three regional workshops. In principle, the Sponsor's staff plus teachers from several projects worked together for a few days as the first stage in the training. Then training continued in each local community with the Sponsor's staff organized in teams, one of which would work with each local community. This process was carried out for the three regions in sequence. Sponsor A was much more satisfied with the effectiveness of this training program. But afterwards, the staff was exhausted and most of them had been away from home for six consecutive weeks with the exception of weekends. In addition, this method of training was expensive, particularly in travel and plane fares. Sponsor A, with his staff, then reviewed this method of training. They believed that they could reduce the amount of time required to complete the training sequence but not enough to make the method workable. This scheme was then replaced by another alternative. Sponsor A set up two regional training centers, one in the East and one in the Mid-West. Each training center was designed to serve the needs of approximately one hundred classrooms. Each reproduced all essential features of his Follow Through instructional program and might be said to reproduce a set of demonstration classrooms. The training program ran for a week at a time. Initially, the new teacher began by observing an experienced teacher in a classroom. By the end of the week, the roles were reversed and the experienced teacher had been replaced by the trainee who was now in charge of the classroom.

There were several interesting features to this method of training. Considerable attention had been given to the development of training methods and a "curriculum" for the training of teachers: i.e. the curriculum was no longer improvised. Secondly, Sponsor A applied to the design of these training methods the same principles of behavior analysis that he applied to the analysis of a Follow Through classroom. He defined in behavioral terms what he hoped to accomplish with this training program and the performance of the teacher trainees was monitored in order to determine that they reach some acceptable level of performance. Third, some members of the Sponsor's staff were assigned to be responsible for the administration and operation of the training centers. It had become one of the differentiated sub-systems within the Sponsor's organization. Finally, additional training centers could be added as the need for training expanded. Thus Sponsor A felt that this method of training could be used as part of a much larger program with each training center serving as one module for one hundred classrooms.

Most recently, Sponsor A has adopted many of the ideas that were used in these regional centers for use at the local level. Thus, the training responsibility has been decentralized and delegated to each of the local projects. At the local level, at each grade level, there is one classroom designated as a demonstration classroom and run by an experienced teacher, known as a "lead" teacher. Lead teachers are certified as being fully qualified to work with Sponsor A's model. Any teacher may qualify as a lead teacher, as a form of promotion. Not all lead teachers will be responsible for a demonstration classroom but only lead teachers will be placed in charge of such a classroom. The first training experience for a new teacher is in the form of a one-week training program that takes place in this demonstration classroom. The curriculum followed is essentially the curriculum that was employed by the regional training centers. Other teachers with some experience may also take part in this training program that is usually scheduled before the beginning of fall classes. Some short periods of refresher training are also organized around these demonstration classrooms. Thus, this program of training is now decentralized and is the responsibility of local personnel with some assistance from the sponsor.

Sponsor B's method of training is somewhat different and equally decentralized; some of the differences in methods of training are a consequence of differences in instructional programs. While Sponsor A trains teachers, Sponsor B places greater reliance on the training of trainers who in turn will train the teachers. To be specific, at the local level and employed by the school system, there is usually one program assistant (teacher trainer) per Follow Through school. If there were Follow Through classrooms in several schools, there would usually be one program assistant per school responsible for the training of the Follow Through teachers in that school. Then the local Field Representative is responsible for working with the Program Assistants: i.e. for training the trainers of teachers.

At the present time, a good deal of the training for program assistants takes place during a series of summer institutes. Two-week institutes are held for experienced program assistants while a four-week institute is held for new program assistants. Then additional training for program assistants takes place throughout the year. This training is carried out locally by the Field Representatives.

In carrying out these training institutes, there have been at least three changes that have taken place during the past three years. Originally, Dr. Foley and Professor Allen were personally responsible for the design and implementation of the training program. As they became more and more involved with administrative responsibilities, it became clear that they needed to delegate this training responsibility to someone else as a full-time responsibility. Accordingly, Dr. Helen Karlin, an experienced Field Representative, was appointed as Coordinator of Training and subsequently Mrs. Henry was appointed as Associate Coordinator of Training. Secondly, as experience with local projects has accumulated, there has been a gradual shift in the objectives of this training program. At first, training emphasized the general characteristics of Sponsor B's instructional model and what it means to work in a relatively open-classroom setting. Recently, there has been increasing emphasis on the teaching of reading and this particular skill was especially emphasized in the most recent summer institutes. Finally, the original training program was "practicum oriented," emphasizing learning by doing in demonstration classrooms. This past summer, Dr. Karlin and Mrs. Henry compared the effectiveness of a practicum oriented training experience with one which was non-practicum oriented. Both methods of training were quite effective, indicating that more reliance on a non-practicum training experience might be possible.

Sponsor B also conducts some one-week "Community In-Service" training programs. Participation is open to all individuals from projects who might profit from greater knowledge about the Sponsor's Program and educational orientations. A variety of individuals may attend these sessions, including teachers, parents, school principals, etc.

Dr. Karlin and Mrs. Henry are also responsible for the training of Field Representatives who spend one week out of each month at University B. In this training, there are included not only the Field Representatives for the instructional component, but also the Field Representatives responsible for Psychological Services and Parent Implementation components. In this form of training, the Field Representatives for the separate components will sometimes work separately on their particular responsibilities. For a portion of the time, all representatives will come together as a group in order to consider planning for the integration of the three major components. Dr. Karlin and Mrs. Henry also have a close personal relationship to the Field Representatives and are available for consultation on an individual basis about problems that arise within a particular project.

There is one other decision having organizational implications that has been made by these sponsors concerning provisions for monitoring the effectiveness of their educational programs. It follows from Sponsor A's emphasis on behavior analysis that he includes provisions for the continuous monitoring of the effectiveness of local programs. Quite routinely, data are collected on a daily basis about student performance and these data are available both to the local projects and to the Sponsor for evaluating the effectiveness of the program. He includes within his staff some individuals who are responsible for the organization and interpretation of these data. In addition, he uses videotape recordings as a way of monitoring certain activities within local classrooms. These data are also processed by the Sponsor's staff. On the other hand, provisions for continuous monitoring of performance are not as essential for Sponsor B. Accordingly, he does not routinely monitor performance although he is beginning to consider how this might be carried out within his program. Interestingly enough, the local projects have gradually become more and more interested in the development of more effective procedures for monitoring the effectiveness of their local projects. Accordingly, Sponsor B now has underway a pair of related activities. First, there is an effort to specify the behavioral objectives to be accomplished by Sponsor B's instructional component. We would interpret this effort as an attempt to attach operational definitions or to specify in behavioral terms the rather abstract statements about the program's objectives. Secondly there will be an effort to use these behavioral objectives in order to monitor the effectiveness of local projects.

We can now review how each sponsor's staff is organized. It is important to note that this organization is a reflection of all of the decisions that each Sponsor has made about his program and its implementation. Sponsor A's organization is summarized in Figure 3.1. Sponsor B's organization is summarized in Figure 3.2. In this latter figure, we have not attempted to give a complete description of the Center for Early Childhood Education, but only to indicate that Follow Through is part of the Center's program and that certain key individuals in Follow Through also have responsibilities for the operation of the Center and its programs.

We will conclude this section with some impressionistic statements about the organizations of each of these Sponsors. During the first year of operations (1968-69), the staffs of each Sponsor must have worked

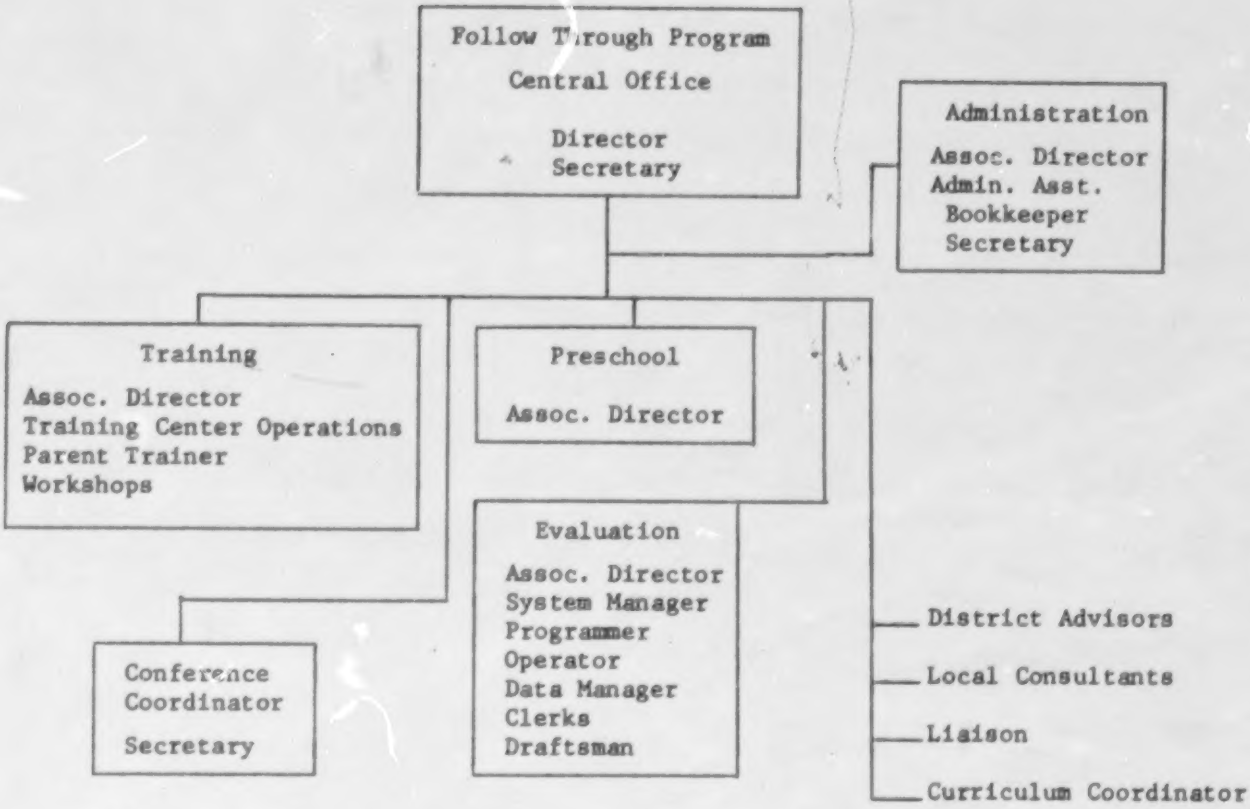
Follow Through Program
Central Office
Director
Secretary
Administration
Assoc. Director
Admin. Asst.
Bookkeeper
Secretary
Training
Assoc. Director
Training Center Operations
Parent Trainer
Workshops
Preschool
Assoc. Director
Evaluation
Assoc. Director
System Manager
Programmer
Operator
Data Manager
Clerks
Draftsman
Conference Coordinator
Secretary
District Advisors
Local Consultants
Liaison
Curriculum Coordinator

Figure 3.1 Program Organization for Sponsor A as of 1971-72.

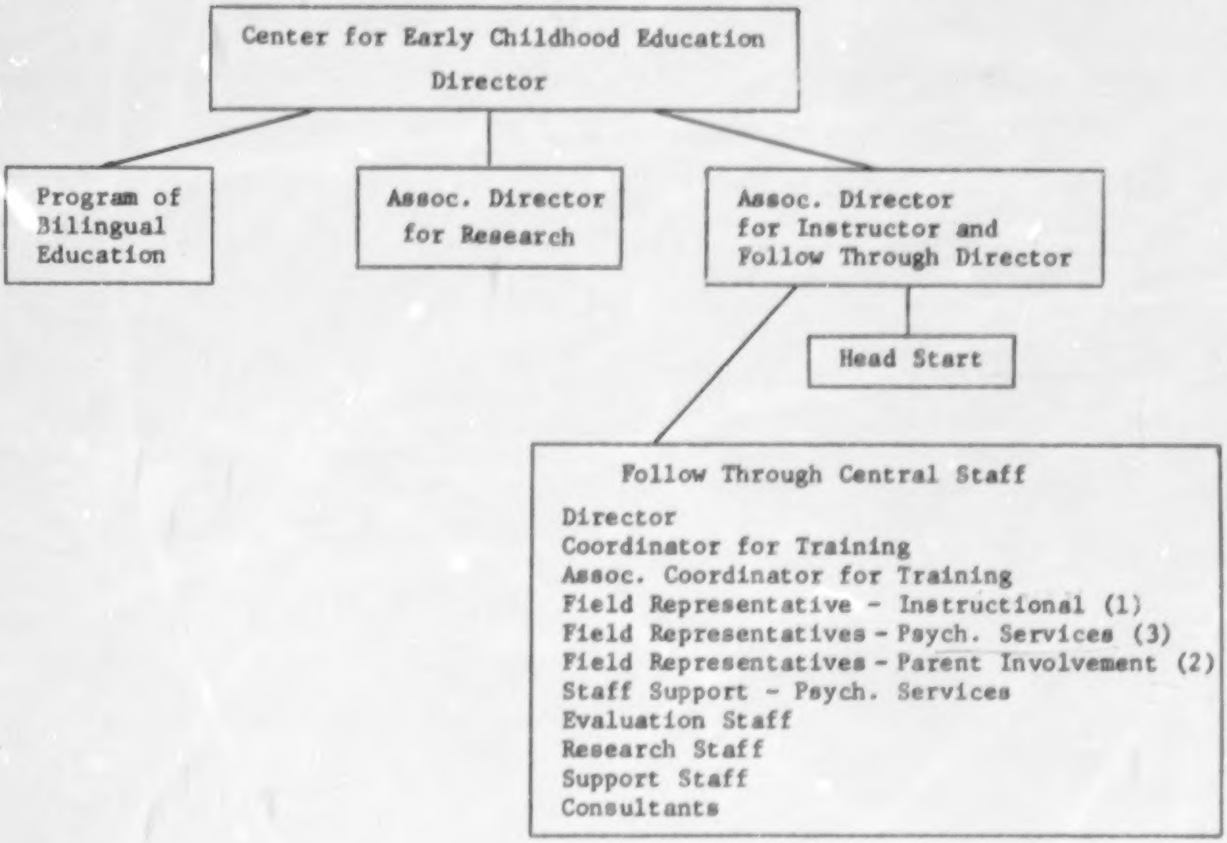
Center for Early Childhood Education
Director
Program of Bilingual Education
Assoc. Director for Research
Assoc. Director for Instructor and Follow Through Director
Head Start
Follow Through Central Staff
Director
Coordinator for Training
Assoc. Coordinator for Training
Field Representative - Instructional (1)
Field Representatives - Psych. Services (3)
Field Representatives - Parent Involvement (2)
Staff Support - Psych. Services
Evaluation Staff
Research Staff
Support Staff
Consultants

Figure 3.2 Program Organization for Sponsor B as of 1971-72.

under enormous pressures. There were very rigid deadlines to be met and much too much to be done with respect to the size of the staff available. Moreover, it seems quite clear that Sponsors had seriously underestimated the complexity of their administrative responsibilities, of their training responsibilities, and of the organizations that they were attempting to create. That they underestimated is quite understandable since neither Sponsor had ever run a program on such a large scale and there are few precedents to follow in a university setting for the administration of such a large-scale effort. Indeed, Sponsor A indicates that he was incredibly naive about preparing a realistic budget and that he depended upon advice from the Follow Through Branch so that he would not underestimate either costs or staff requirements. In retrospect, it might have been desirable for Sponsors to have begun with fewer projects and to have expanded more gradually. Yet the staffs survived during this first year. In spite of being quite overworked, participants tended to maintain high morale and to develop a strong commitment to the program. During the next two years, the sense of continual crisis began to disappear. The staffs are still somewhat overworked but seem to be much more in control of their responsibilities: i.e., their jobs are now more clearly defined and they can schedule their activities with greater confidence. Morale remains high, although crises still arise and the relationships between Sponsors and local communities are still somewhat in flux.

Project Comparisons: Some General Considerations

In our discussion of Sponsors in the previous sections, we found it useful to discuss those developments that had taken place during each of three stages of development. In similar fashion, we want to review developments within local projects that took place during 1) an initial stage during which the basic organization of a Follow Through project was first defined and relationships among key subsystems were established, 2) an intermediate stage during which the plan for Follow Through was being implemented, and 3) an evaluation stage during which projects have begun to review their experiences and plan for the future. A review of stages one and two will bring us through Summer 1971, while developments within a third stage were just beginning to take place during the past academic year.

In reviewing our data about Sponsors and projects, we have been particularly interested in the problem of making comparisons among projects. Specifically, for a given Sponsor, one can make comparisons among his projects while, for two or more Sponsors, one can make comparisons among their various projects. Alternatively, in what respects are projects similar and in what respects are they different? To a significant extent, projects share in common the fact that each has had to deal with a set of similar organizational problems in order to attain their objectives. However, projects differ because they reach different solutions to this set of problems.

During the initial stage, projects all have in common that they must make an initial although possibly limited commitment to the Follow Through program. In a sense, this commitment implies a recognition of some existing inadequacies in the community's educational programs and an expectation that implementation of Follow Through will lead to a reduction in these inadequacies. Also, during this stage, a community must make some decisions about how a Follow Through project will be incorporated into the community and the school system.

During the implementation phase projects all have in common that they must create an organization in order to implement their planned programs. As soon as Sponsor and community reach an agreement, then the implementation of their Follow Through program becomes a primary end and the creation of an effective organization becomes a means to the achievement of that end. However, in creating an organization, there are some secondary problems which have to be faced. These appear to include the following:

1. Some form of working relationships between the Sponsor's organization, the project, the local school system, and the Follow Through Branch has to be established.

2. The organization of the project staff has to be defined and steps need to be taken in order to create that organization, i.e. to recruit and train those individuals who will be responsible for the local project.

3. Working relationships between the project staff and the school or schools in which they operate have to be established.

4. Some agreements have to be reached about a "program" of parent and community involvement and steps have to be taken in order to put this program into effect.

5. Some provisions for monitoring the effectiveness of the project activities have to be developed.

In what follows, we will consider each of these problems in succession and will compare the solutions to them that have been reached for each of the four projects.

Initial Commitments by Community and Sponsor

Project A1 - Sponsor A's involvement with Project A1 began in the spring of 1969. The local school district for Community A1 received a letter of invitation from the State office of OEO and from the State Superintendent of Public Instruction to attend an informational meeting in Cincinnati, Ohio, to acquaint them with Follow Through. Included at the meeting were key representatives from the school system as well as the Director of Head Start for the county. Afterwards, an interim Policy Advisory Committee was formed, including some Head Start parents plus appropriate school officials. This group made use of a general consultant who was quite knowledgeable about the program approaches of different Sponsors. Five Sponsors were interviewed. Apparently, the group was able to agree that they preferred a well-structured program. As a consequence, they also agreed that Sponsor A would be their first choice and another Sponsor with an equally well-structured approach would be their second choice. Agreements were then reached between Sponsor A and the community. The necessary contractual proposals were approved by Follow Through, and implementation of the project begun in the summer of 1969 for the school year of 1969-70.

In these initial discussions, Mr. Murdoch, Coordinator of Federal Funds for the school district, played a very important role. Before taking on this particular responsibility, he had been an elementary school principal. Thus, he had a well-established position within the school system and was respected both by his superiors as well as by others with whom he worked. At that time, the schools in Community A1 were organized into two separate school districts, one for the Elementary Schools and the other for the High School and Mr. Murdoch was part of the elementary school district. To some extent Community A1 was motivated by the fact that Follow Through represented an additional source of Federal funds that might be used in order to finance some new activities. More importantly, an awareness already existed that at least three of the elementary schools in the District were not functioning as well as they might. All three of these schools serve neighborhoods of relatively low socio-economic status.

During the initial series of negotiations, there were a number of people involved whose roles were transitional. They represented significant interest groups in the community. Because of their participation, there was fairly wide-spread involvement in the initial decisions about Follow Through. As a consequence, a number of segments of the community took part in the initial commitment to participate in Follow Through. These included the Director of Head Start for the County and the Director of the Community Action Program. In addition, several parents with children in Head Start were included and served on the interim Policy Advisory Committee (PAC). The presence of these transitional individuals added to the significance of the initial commitment even though these individuals did not remain actively involved in the implementation of Follow Through. There were also at least three individuals who played important roles in the initial negotiations and who remained actively involved in the implementation of Follow Through, at least during the first year. These included Dr. Devine, elementary school Superintendent, who continued to support the Follow Through program and who played an important liaison role between

Follow Through and the School Board; Mr. Murdoch, who played a major role in getting the Follow Through project started and who functioned as the key link between Follow Through and the School District; and Mrs. Hazelton, a teacher and supervisor for two years in Head Start who continued to function as Parent Coordinator. In this role, Mrs. Hazelton is the key link between the Follow Through staff and parents.

One other important decision that was reached initially was that Follow Through classrooms - i.e. the project activities - would be assigned to a single school, the Holt School, which is one of the three schools that were previously mentioned. By coincidence, an old school building was just being replaced and Follow Through began its operations in a new school building with a new principal who was hired from outside the school district.

There is one additional observation about these initial negotiations that is of some importance; Mr. Murdoch recalls with some surprise that support for a structured educational program (Sponsor A) came primarily from parents and that this particular decision was not made by senior administrators in the School District, although they were not opposed to it.

Project A2 - Sponsor A's involvement with Community A2 followed a rather different pattern. The initiative came from Mr. Clark, an Associate Superintendent of Schools who was at that time in charge of all elementary schools within the inner-city area. Prior to Follow Through, he had taken the leadership in developing a remedial reading program and had some interest in obtaining financial support for the continuation of this program. With support from the State Office of Education, he began to explore the possibility of a Follow Through project and was led to Sponsor A primarily because of geographical proximity. It is not at all clear that Sponsor A was chosen because of the nature of his program but rather for reasons of convenience. After agreements were reached, there was an expectation that Sponsor A would somehow make use of this existing remedial reading program. This expectation was unfortunately incorrect and led to some initial difficulties when the program was first implemented for the school year of 1969-70. Actually, Sponsor A has indicated that his own views about curriculum materials were in flux and that this was the source of some of the initial misunderstandings. While these negotiations were underway, he still felt that local communities could have a good deal of freedom in the choice of curriculum materials. Subsequently, he became convinced that certain types of materials were essential for the successful implementation of his educational program.

There appear to be important differences between Projects A1 and A2, having to do with the process of selecting a Sponsor. Community A1 had a reasonably accurate set of expectations about Sponsor A's program when they decided to work with him while Community A2 did not. In addition, Community A1 had involved more individuals, both parents as well as school officials, in the initial process of decision-making than had Community A2. There appear to be consequences to these differences for the projects that we will review subsequently.

In addition, in Community A2, Follow Through classrooms are located in three separate schools, Lamson, Adams, and Harper. These schools are all in low income neighborhoods serving primarily black families. These schools are rather distant from one another, although all are in the "inner city" area. More importantly, the staffs of these three schools were not involved in any of the initial discussions and the decision to locate Follow Through in them was apparently made by senior administrators in the District. As a result, these school principals have had rather mixed feelings about their involvement with Follow Through and particularly about how their schools were selected.

Project B1 - Sponsor B began working with Project B1 in the first year of the sponsored program (1968-69) while Project B2 was added in the following year. Community B1 is actually one of the projects that began in 1967-68 as an unsponsored program. For this first year, the director of Head Start became the first director of the Follow Through project. Then, in 1968, Community B1 was advised that there were to be no more unsponsored projects and that they would have to find a sponsor. Representatives of the community including the Follow Through director were briefed at the first of the two meetings in Kansas City. Sponsor B was chosen primarily because the Follow Through director felt that Sponsor B's ideas about program were very close to the ideas already being employed in their unsponsored program. Subsequently, officials from Community B learned that some communities had been permitted to continue without a sponsor and there is some residue of bitterness over having been "forced" to work with a sponsor. At any rate, Sponsor B's association with this project began during the academic year 1968-69.

Project B2 - In the case of Project B2, the general consultant was quite influential in steering the community to Sponsor B. The community had received an invitation to participate in Follow Through in 1969. A general consultant was employed who was quite knowledgeable about Follow Through and familiar with some of the Sponsors' programs. He suggested that Sponsor B's educational views were quite consistent with the educational orientations of the local school system and Sponsor B's association with this community began in 1969-70.

There were two key individuals involved in the initial discussions who continued to play key roles in the implementation of Follow Through. Mrs. Miller had been Director of the local Head Start project. Along with the general consultant, she had an opportunity to visit several Sponsors, including Sponsor B, and played an influential role in the decision to work with Sponsor B. After the decision to work with Follow Through was reached, it was agreed that she would serve as Director for both Head Start and Follow Through. She continued in this role through the academic year 1970-71. At that time, she asked to be relieved of these duties in order to take on some new responsibilities within the school system. During this period, Dr. Prentice, Superintendent of Schools, was also quite active. He has given strong support to Follow Through. He functions in part as the key link between Follow Through and the school system as well as between Follow Through and the school board.

Project Implementation in Community A1

Overall pattern of relationships

As soon as the implementation stage began, certain key relationships had to be worked out among project, sponsor, school system, and Follow Through Branch. In these developments, Mr. Murdoch has been particularly influential. One of the first problems that he faced was that a project staff had not yet been recruited, although an agreement had been reached that the project would be located in the Holt School. However, the form of a project organization - i.e. what positions would be needed - had already been established by the Sponsor and had already been incorporated into the proposal that had been submitted by Community Al to the Follow Through program in Washington.

In this early period, Mr. Murdoch began to function as director of the Follow Through project and continued for some time to function in that capacity. He recruited a Follow Through Coordinator, a Parent Coordinator, teachers, and teacher aides. The problem of recruiting teachers and teacher aides was simplified by the fact that the project was to begin at the kindergarten level for the first year, expand into first grade in the second year, and continue to expand one year at a time until grades kindergarten through third were included in Follow Through. Since Mr. Murdoch was part of an on-going school system, some of these responsibilities could be delegated to departments within the school system. Recruiting was handled by the Director of Personnel although Mr. Murdoch played an active role in all decisions about hiring. Interestingly enough, some of the teachers recruited during that first year did not know that they were to be part of a new program, although, they did know that they would be kindergarten teachers. During the summer of 1969, he had been successful in hiring Mrs. Fisher as Follow Through Coordinator, Mrs. Hazelton as Parent Coordinator, and several teacher aides. In addition, Mrs. Armstrong had been hired as the new principal of the Holt School.

Along with this responsibility for staff recruitment, Mr. Murdoch saw to it that procedures were established for contract administration, management of the budget, purchasing, etc. To a large extent, these details about contract administration could be delegated to existing divisions within the school system.

Throughout, Mr. Murdoch has been responsible to two individuals. On the one hand, he is responsible to Dr. Devine to make clear that progress in implementing the project is being made according to schedule. He is also responsible to the Project Officer who monitors the administration of the contract. In particular, under the contract, Community A1 agreed to adhere to certain guidelines established for all Follow Through projects and the Project Officer is responsible for determining that these guidelines are indeed being followed. As we shall see, the problems of meeting these guidelines have at times led to disagreements between School System and Project Officer.

Follow Through classrooms began to operate in September, 1969. By that time, Mrs. Fisher had assumed active responsibility for the administration of the project and it was no longer necessary for Mr. Murdoch to be as actively involved as he had previously been.[4] As the end product of an evolutionary process, his continuing responsibilities to Follow Through have gradually stabilized and been redefined.

He has primary responsibility for contract negotiations between the school system and the Follow Through Branch. Contracts are resubmitted annually and reviewed by the Project officer as well as by other members of the Follow Through staff. Mr. Murdoch plays a major role in drawing up the contract proposal, particularly in the submission of the budget, and in those details that pertain to the Follow Through guidelines. Secondly, he keeps Dr. Devine informed and aware of the progress being made in the project. This is an important responsibility and one that he handles well. As a result, the Superintendant has been a strong supporter of Follow Through and willing to mediate between the project, the school board and the community, when necessary. Finally, Mr. Murdoch has been a very effective trouble-shooter for Follow Through in resolving issues between Follow Through and the school system. We can state the problem in general terms as follows. The school system (the school district) can be viewed as a set of component subsystems that operate interdependently. The Follow Through project represents an additional subsystem to be included in the total system. But as it begins to function, problems arise between Follow Through and other existing subsystems and some accommodations become essential. Mr. Murdoch has been very effective in helping to resolve the difficulties that arise between Follow Through and other parts of the system. For example, since Follow Through has its own funds and its own educational program, it purchases materials in ways that are inconsistent with the practices that are followed throughout other parts of the school system. Gradually, the Purchasing Department has learned to adapt somewhat to the needs and requests of Follow Through. Similarly, Follow Through has gradually involved parents in the hiring of teacher aides and more recently teachers. Such practices are not normally followed by the Personnel Department and again Mr. Murdoch has participated in the negotiations that helped to resolve this conflict over procedures. Follow Through also employs Parent Assistants who have been hired as Temporary Employees (a decision which is in itself a compromise). As a consequence, there have been awkward questions raised about establishing their rate of pay, whether or not they are entitled to fringe benefits and paid vacations, etc. Again, Mr. Murdoch has been helpful in resolving disagreements, although the decisions have not always been completely acceptable to the parents or to the Follow Through staff. What one observes is that Follow Through, as a new component, needs to operate in ways that differ from the established procedures. Staff departments have developed procedures that are based on their experience with the previously existing programs and that are not necessarily appropriate for Follow Through. And some key figure like Mr. Murdoch can be very helpful in discussions that lead to a modification in these procedures. More importantly, these conflicts over procedures are disturbing both to parents and the Follow Through staff. It would impair the effectiveness of the program and the morale of the staff if they could not be resolved.

---

[4] Mr. Murdoch resigned in Spring 1971 in order to take another position. The significance of this change will be discussed in a subsequent section. He was replaced by Dr. Olson. Dr. Devine also resigned to be replaced by Dr. Beam.

There is one remaining link of considerable importance that was established in the summer of 1969, the link between Sponsor and project. At that time, Carl Holman became the Sponsor's representative to Community A1, having the title of District Advisor. He is an advanced graduate student at University A and very strongly committed to the support of Sponsor A's program. He is younger than most of the key figures in Follow Through in this project and is one of the few major figures who is routinely called by his first name. His role is a very complex one and he handles it well. He has responsibilities that might conceivably be in conflict, although he does not permit them to become so. On the one hand, he is responsible to Sponsor A for the implementation of Sponsor A's program and in some respects for ensuring that their program, as one of many in the experimental effort, will have an opportunity to demonstrate its effectiveness when compared to the programs of other Sponsors. On the other hand, he has no direct authority over any of the local staff. He is in the ambiguous position of a kind of consultant to the Follow Through Director and Coordinator who are hired locally. It is our impression that initially neither his role nor that of the Follow Through Coordinator were well-defined. They work closely together and their division of responsibility has evolved over time. Moreover, their present roles are partly a function of their individual characteristics - what each does well - and partly a result of their joint assessment about what has needed to be done in order to implement the program. We will discuss more fully how his responsibilities have changed in a subsequent section.

Project organization

During the summer of 1969, training began for the teachers and teacher aides and the organization of the local Follow Through staff began to crystalize. A summary of the project organization for the year 1970-71 is given in Figure 3.3.

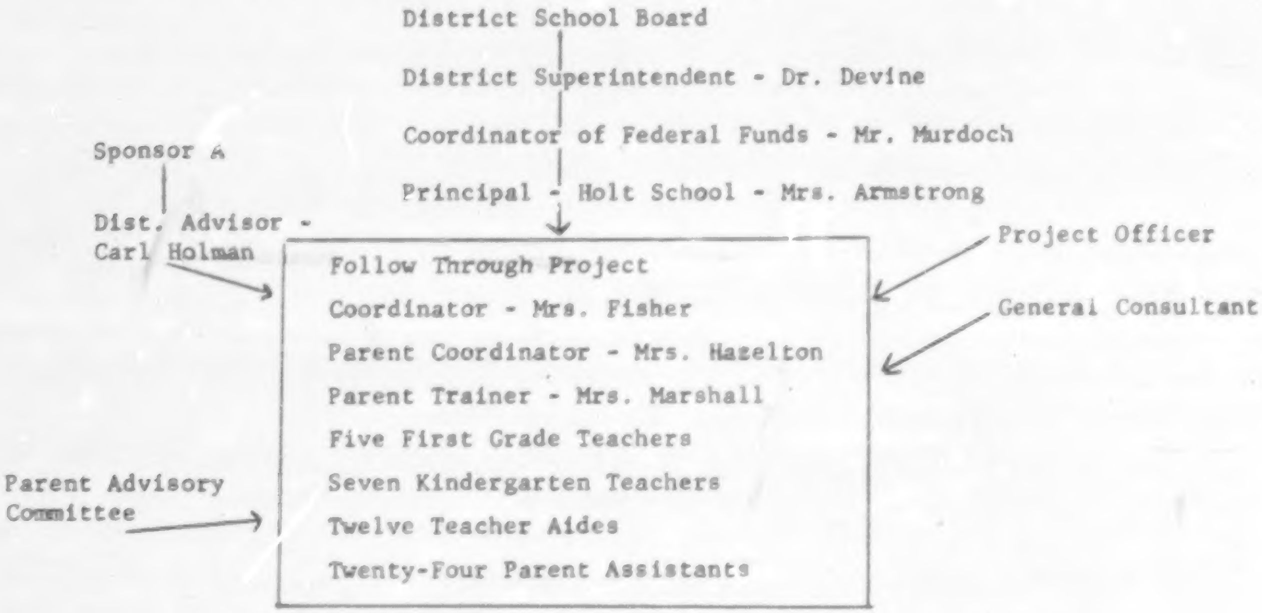
District School Board
District Superintendent - Dr. Devine
Coordinator of Federal Funds - Mr. Murdoch
Principal - Holt School - Mrs. Armstrong
Sponsor A
Dist. Advisor - Carl Holman
Project Officer
General Consultant
Follow Through Project
Coordinator - Mrs. Fisher
Parent Coordinator - Mrs. Hazelton
Parent Trainer - Mrs. Marshall
Five First Grade Teachers
Seven Kindergarten Teachers
Twelve Teacher Aides
Twenty-Four Parent Assistants
Parent Advisory Committee

Figure 3.3 - Organization of the Follow Through Staff in Community A1 during school year 1970-71. (Note: the position of Parent Trainer was not added until 1970-71).

In this summary, we have included those individuals who are responsible for liaison between project, school system, Sponsor, and the Follow Through Branch. First grade classrooms were added only in 1970-71, second grade classrooms in 1971-72, and third grade classrooms are being added in 1972-73.

The organization of each classroom is the same: one teacher, one teacher aide, and two parent assistants. This is the pattern that was established during the first year for kindergarten and it is the same pattern that was followed in 1970-71 when first grade classes were added. It is important to note that Follow Through in this community began with all the classrooms at the kindergarten level. As Follow Through progresses from one level to the next, they again take on responsibility for all classrooms at any given grade level. By 1972-73, all classrooms from kindergarten through the third grade will be part of the Follow Through project while none of the classrooms at higher grade levels will be directly associated with the project. We should add here parenthetically that certain state laws have had to be taken into account in defining these roles, particularly those that have to do with teacher certification and qualifications for those who may assist with classroom teaching.

Let us consider for a moment what one might observe in a Follow Through classroom in the Holt School. Typically, there would be about 25-30 children in a class broken down into four sub-groups of equal size. Each group would customarily be working around a table in one corner of the room. There would be four adults in the room, one working with each of the smaller groups and, at first glance, there would be no obvious way to distinguish among teacher, teacher aide, and parent assistants. In this school, there is a working agreement that the teacher teaches reading, the teacher aide is responsible for mathematics, and the parent assistants help teach hand writing, spelling and help with other more general assignments. Often one parent will concentrate on hand writing, while the other parent may assist those children in need of individual help (tutor) or perhaps supervise a group engaged in drawing and other forms of art.

This division of responsibilities is in part a consequence of state laws in this particular state. (Laws in other states are similar but not identical.) The teacher is certified and the only one in the classroom who is legally qualified as a professional. Officially as well as in fact, this teacher is in charge of the classroom activities. The teacher aide can assist in teaching (i.e. do some teaching under supervision) and must have a high school degree plus approximately a year of college credits (30 credit hours). The only qualification for parent assistants is that they should have a child in Follow Through. Originally, parent assistants were supposed to work for a six to eight week period and then be replaced. With this rotational scheme, it was assumed that many parents would have an opportunity to learn about Follow Through and the Sponsor's educational program. To some extent, there has been a gradual shift away from this rotational scheme for at least two reasons. First of all, it has been difficult to recruit parent assistants in sufficient numbers to operate the scheme. As a result, parent assistants who have worked out well in the classroom are often encouraged to continue beyond the six week period.

Secondly, the rotational scheme imposes an added burden on the teacher. Once the teacher has been successful in training a parent aide and is able to make effective use of her services, the teacher feels that she has made an investment in that parent. It is in the teacher's interest that that individual continue with the program. Just as there has been a gradual change in the way in which parents are utilized in the classroom, there has also been a change in the rationale for introducing parents into the classroom. Initially, there was less emphasis on the contribution that parents might make to classroom activities and more emphasis on the desirability of "educating" parents about Follow Through and in enlisting their support. Now the relative emphasis has been reversed as the teachers have come to recognize how parents can contribute in the classroom.

The presence of parents in these classrooms as paraprofessionals raises some important issues about the use of "non-professionals" as part of the instructional process. State accrediting laws place great emphasis on proper credentials and on the formal education that teachers must receive. The Follow Through project in Community A1 often bends the rules with respect to the ways in which parents and teacher aides are used, although they attempt to avoid any overt conflict with the state accreditation procedures. This successful use of parents and teacher aides in the classroom is one more bit of evidence to suggest that state accreditation procedures are out moded and in need of revision.

One might also observe certain characteristic features of these Follow Through classrooms that are a direct consequence of the Sponsor's model of the educational process. Instruction is **highly individualized**. In the major activities of reading, mathematics, and hand writing, the program makes use of a graded series of work books. Each child has his own book and proceeds, with the help of a teacher, at his own pace. Secondly, the classroom operates by using a "token exchange" economy. Children are rewarded (reinforced) continually for making progress in their classroom activities. As a corollary, periods of work (earning) are followed by periods of play during which the children can spend the tokens they have earned on a variety of pleasurable activities, most of which take place in the classroom. Thirdly, the Behavior Analysis program also makes use of positive reinforcement, using the token exchange economy in order to maintain what we normally think of as classroom discipline. As Sponsor A has written, "Behavior Analysis uses positive reinforcement to build improved student behavior and seeks to eliminate all coercive or negative control procedures. ...The general strategy is to ignore inappropriate behavior while providing heavy and frequent reinforcement for desirable behavior."

In this brief description of a classroom, we have tried to review some key implications of the Sponsor's model for classroom activities. This model may be viewed as a definition of an "ideal" classroom. Now we would like to review the training that was undertaken in order to move toward that ideal and the important implications for the roles of classroom teacher as well as Follow Through Director.

From the Sponsor's point of view, his main responsibility to a community is to train individuals about the Sponsor's model so that it can be implemented. Moreover, training takes place at several levels within the local organization and the Sponsor's strategy is one of training trainers who in turn will carry out the training at another level within the organization. In some respects, Mrs. Fisher, Follow Through coordinator, and Mrs. Marshall have the major responsibility for all training that affects classroom activities: Mrs. Fisher for the training of teachers and teacher aides[5] and Mrs. Marshall for the training of parent aides.

---

[5] Beginning with 1971-72, the position of teacher trainer was established to relieve some of the overload on Mrs. Fisher. This position is filled by Mrs. Hilton, who was already teaching in Follow Through.

When Mrs. Fisher was first hired, she was an experienced teacher and had taught in both kindergarten and first grade. She also had strong feelings about the inadequacies of the educational approaches with which she was familiar. Follow Through interested her because it represented an attempt to try something new. However, she was not at that time familiar with Sponsor A's program. During the summer of 1969, she, along with the newly selected teachers, attended a workshop at University A in order to learn about the Sponsor's program. It seems clear that this training program was only partially successful. When classes began in the fall, the teachers did the best they could but it was difficult for them to satisfy the expectations of the Sponsor. During this period, Sponsor A along with Carl Holman worked closely with Mrs. Fisher in order to train teachers to follow the Sponsor's model. Since Mrs. Fisher was relatively inexperienced with the model, she was being trained along with the teachers. If we think of Mrs. Fisher as the key trainer at the local level, then the Sponsor along with Carl Holman was training the trainer so that she could take on the responsibility of training at the local level.

As a result of this first year's activities, Mrs. Fisher has gradually taken over the responsibility for training of teachers and teacher aides with the aid of Mrs. Hilton and the Sponsor as well as Carl Holman have become less and less active in this area of activity. Interestingly enough, both Carl and the Sponsor express the view that the local project should gradually learn to operate independently of the Sponsor or District Advisor: i.e. there should come a time when the local project can operate by itself and no longer require the services of an outside consultant. During this first year, it gradually became apparent that the Follow Through Coordinator had too many responsibilities. In particular, not enough attention was being given to the training of parent assistants. Accordingly, a new position was created for the second year, that of parent trainer. Mrs. Marshall had been very successful as a parent assistant during the first year and agreed to fill the newly created position of parent trainer, beginning with the second year.

We have had an opportunity to talk with teachers participating in Follow Through and it is interesting to review their perceptions of Follow Through. During the first few months, teachers felt under a good deal of strain. They were being asked to do something different but it wasn't clear to them what they were being asked to do. There was a temptation to fall back on past experience, on what they already knew, even though they knew that this would be inconsistent with the views of the Sponsor. This period can be viewed as one of transition during which teachers were gradually developing a new set of skills.

In addition, some of the teachers began with mixed feelings about certain characteristics of the Sponsor's program. There were perhaps two major points at issue. Some teachers as well as parents have negative reactions to the idea of a token economy. It seems like an overly "mechanical" approach and insufficiently "humanistic." Secondly, some teachers feel that the Sponsor's views about how to maintain discipline in the classroom are naive. They have serious misgivings about the wisdom of ignoring undesirable behavior and of relying only on positive reinforcement. In addition, teachers sometimes feel that certain children need to be removed from regular classes and placed in special classrooms, while the Sponsor feels that such drastic action is rarely necessary. We can restate the issue more generally. The views of most of these teachers are based upon a particular set of educational assumptions and these assumptions are partially in conflict with those assumptions upon which the Sponsor's program is based. Thus, as a by-product of training, it is essential that these conflicts about how to educate be resolved.

There are certain other respects in which these teachers are being asked to function in ways that differ from what they have previously experienced. Since there are four adults in each classroom, each teacher is effectively in charge of a team of teachers. She has some responsibility for the training of a teacher aide and the two parent assistants. She is responsible for coordinating the efforts of these four individuals and, above all, for resolving disagreements that may rise among them. It is our impression that the training of these teachers has not given particular emphasis to the skills of supervising a small group, although a number of individuals - Mrs. Fisher, Mrs. Marshall, Mrs. Hazelton - are all available for consultation whenever a crisis arises. As a consequence, some teachers are quite effective in working with the teacher aide and the parent assistants in order to plan effectively together, to coordinate the efforts of all four adults both within and without the classroom, and to develop effective working relationships among the four individuals within a classroom. But each teacher is left somewhat on her own to develop the necessary supervisory skills; some have difficulty in fulfilling this aspect of their total responsibility.

We have suggested previously that the first few months for a new teacher is a rather difficult period. Let us review what would have been happening during that period. During the summer, she would spend one week participating in a training program run by the Sponsor. She would be working within demonstration classrooms and would have an opportunity to teach (on a practice basis) within these classrooms. Then she would receive additional on-the-job training. During the first week of training, she is likely to learn that the skills she had previously acquired are not wholly appropriate and that she needs to acquire a different set of skills in order to take on her new responsibilities. Thus, an experienced teacher is in part put back into the role of a beginner, which can be rather disturbing. To the best of our knowledge, teachers in Follow Through are able to cope with the demands of this transitional period and to learn those skills that are particularly relevant to the Sponsor's instructional program. We have also had an opportunity to talk with some teachers about their reactions to participation in this program. On the whole, they find teaching in this Follow Through project to be a rewarding experience and, in some respects, more rewarding than their previous teaching experiences had been. There appear to be several reasons why they enjoy their experiences with Follow Through. Partly because of the nature of the program and the presence of four adults in the classroom, teachers feel much more in control of the classroom activities and in a position to concentrate on education. By way of contrast, one teacher indicated that in her previous experience she had had to devote most of her time and effort toward the objective of maintaining some semblance of order in the classroom. She had felt somewhat overwhelmed by her classroom responsibility and found herself exhausted at the end of the day. She finds that she derives much greater satisfaction from the present activities through which she can concentrate on the accomplishment of educational objectives. In general, teachers express a sense of accomplishment in what they are doing and satisfaction with the progress that the children are making. Sponsor A includes as part of his program an emphasis on the continuous monitoring of the children's performance. As a result, teachers can observe for themselves that children are indeed making progress and these impressions are clearly supported by the data that are routinely collected by the Sponsor. Finally, the morale of the Follow Through staff in the Holt School is quite high. They tend to feel that they are participating in a successful and innovative program. In addition, they receive compliments and strong support from other teachers in the Holt School, from their principal, from parents and from administrators in the school system.

What are some of the disadvantages to participation in Follow Through? Teachers have some reservations about the Sponsor's instructional program and particularly about how "problem" children are handled in the classroom. They sometimes voice the opinion that the Sponsor's views may be all right in "theory" but are impractical: i.e., they have closer familiarity with actual conditions in the classroom than he does. They also feel that the token system is all right in theory but there are mechanical (i.e. practical) difficulties to be resolved when it is implemented in the classroom.

There is one other source of difficulty for these teachers. As a result of their background, they believe that teachers should be properly "qualified" and they had learned in the past to equate qualified with "properly educated" and "certified". The teacher aide and parent assistants do not meet the usual standards for qualification. Thus, the fact that these paraprofessionals do assist in the classroom is somewhat in conflict with the teacher's expectations or with her status as a professional. Most of the teachers learn to accept, appreciate and understand how the team of adults works together but they sometimes express the view that teacher aides and parent assistants should be more adequately trained for their work in Follow Through.

School-project relations

In this particular community, all of the Follow Through classrooms are located in a single school and we want to consider the relationships that exist between the Holt School and Follow Through and how these relationships have evolved. Within the community, Holt School is often referred to as a "lighthouse" school where different kinds of experimental programs have been tried out in the past. Thus teachers were not surprised when Follow Through was introduced into this school. When the program started, Mrs. Armstrong had just been hired as the new principal. She had not taught in this school district before and had no previous commitments to programs that were in any sense in competition with Follow Through. When she first arrived, the Holt School had a reputation as one which lagged behind other schools in the district in terms of classroom performance: by reputation, it was not one of the academically strong schools in the district. She was clearly committed to trying to improve programs within the school, to developing better educational programs, and to improving the school's reputation. However, at first, she knew relatively little about Follow Through.

As the Follow Through project began to develop, Mrs. Fisher very consistently kept Mrs. Armstrong informed and worked closely with her. As a result, Mrs. Armstrong has gradually become more and more involved and more and more impressed by the project's accomplishments. There is an important sense in which the Holt School and Mrs. Armstrong have come to have a stake in this project. She shares in its successes and is committed to it. Follow Through has helped her to achieve her objectives of improving the school and her superiors acknowledge the contribution she makes to the success of the program.

There appears to be another reason why good relationships exist between Follow Through and Mrs. Armstrong.[6] Both Mr. Murdoch and Mrs. Fisher are careful to respect Mrs. Armstrong's position as principal. For example, Mr. Murdoch works closely with Mrs. Armstrong and the effect of Follow Through has been to support and strengthen her position as principal rather than to undermine it. The reader may wonder why we place such an emphasis on Follow Through maintaining a good relationship with the school principal. In other projects that we will discuss, the situation is quite different. Unless one proceeds with care, friction can develop between the Follow Through staff and a school principal and such an outcome is detrimental to the success of the project and disruptive of relationships within the school.

There are at least two desirable by-products from the fact that Mrs. Armstrong is a strong supporter of Follow Through.

She can often help Mrs. Fisher in discussions between Follow Through and the school system or in obtaining support from the superintendant and the school board. She and Mrs. Fisher work well together and Mrs. Armstrong often relies on Mrs. Fisher to bring to her attention issues about which she can be helpful: i.e., Mrs. Armstrong does not interfere with Follow Through operations and usually waits to be asked for help. Secondly, Mrs. Armstrong helps ensure that good relationships between Follow Through and non-Follow Through teachers will be maintained. To some extent, Mrs. Armstrong communicates the view that Follow Through is good for the Holt School and that there are lessons to be learned from the Follow Through experience that can be applied throughout the school. Although it may be too early to assess the effects of this project on the rest of the school, there does seem to be strong support throughout for the project and some sense of pride that Follow Through is actually being successful in achieving its objectives.

---

[6] Beginning with the year 1972-73, Mrs. Armstrong has been named Associate Director for Follow Through, thus formalizing her relationship to the project.

Project relationships with parents and community

The other set of relationships with which Follow Through is involved are with parents and the community. Mrs. Hazelton is a key figure in the establishment and maintenance of these relationships. Parents participate in Follow Through activities in two rather different ways. On the one hand, some parents are involved in classroom activities as parent assistants. Mrs. Marshall, who was herself a parent assistant, has the role of Parent Trainer and concentrates on preparing parents for taking part in classroom activities. Mrs. Marshall has children in Follow Through and is a respected member of the local community. She operates in a quiet way and is very effective in carrying out her responsibilities. Since the parents operate as part of a team, Mrs. Marshall works closely with Mrs. Fisher so that the two sets of training activities will be appropriately coordinated.

During the first year of activities, before there was a Parent Trainer, Mrs. Fisher acted in that capacity and met on a weekly basis with the Parent Assistants. At that time, Follow Through was limited to kindergarten. During the second year, when the first grade classes were added, the number of parent assistants doubled; at that time this new position of Parent Trainer was added to the budget for the year 1970-71.

Parent Assistants meet as a group with Mrs. Marshall and Mrs. Hazelton on a weekly basis. Interestingly enough there are also weekly meetings, one for teachers with Mrs. Fisher and another for Teacher Aides, also with Mrs. Fisher. Then on occasion, the total group of Teachers, Teacher Aides, and Parent Assistants may meet to discuss some particular issue. There are undoubtedly some advantages to having each of these three groups meet separately since each has separate and rather well-defined responsibilities within the classroom. On the other hand, there are disadvantages. Separate meetings tend to perpetuate status differences based upon differential education attainments and upon distinctions between professionals and paraprofessionals. By having more joint meetings, it might be possible to resolve some of the differences that continue to exist among these three groups. There is one important fact that complicates the establishment of joint meetings. Parents find it difficult to meet after school, because of their family responsibilities. Thus, it has not been easy to schedule a time at which all three groups can easily meet together.

In addition to these classroom activities, parents also participate in Follow Through through the Policy Advisory Committee (PAC) and Mrs. Hazelton has played the major role in the organization of this committee.

There had been an interim PAC formed when Follow Through was first being organized which had close ties to the local Community Action Program. Then in November, 1969, elections were held to determine the officers of a permanent PAC and to appoint the Board of Directors. The Board consists of two parents from each room, one Head Start representative, and various community representatives (YMCA, Urban League, etc.). Re-elections are held every year and Mrs. Hill is the current chairman of PAC.

During the past two years, this local PAC has grown steadily and has become increasingly active and influential. At the beginning, Mrs. Hazelton worked very hard in order to build up the PAC activities. Lower-income parents are not used to participating in school activities and tend to have reservations about the likelihood that such activities will be productive. Mrs. Hazelton attempted to overcome these reservations. She has been successful for several reasons. First of all, she is a friendly, outgoing person with well-established ties to this community in which she was raised. Having worked for Head Start as a teacher, supervisor, and parent coordinator, she had already established good working relationships with many families whose children are now coming into Follow Through. In addition to supporting PAC activities, she recruits parent assistants and other volunteers for the program, makes home visits, and supervises the dental and medical components of Follow Through. She now has an assistant who works part time primarily making home visits. Thus, Mrs. Hazelton brings some sense of Follow Through into homes and sees to it that Follow Through is of service in direct and immediate ways. Secondly, she has been able to build upon relationships that have already been established in the community in organizing the PAC. To be specific, a significant number of families with children in Follow Through live in the neighborhood that is normally served by the Holt School. Other children travel by bus to the school as well and these families are recruited because of the Follow Through guidelines concerning previous participation in Head Start and permissible levels of income. Of the families from outside the immediate neighborhood, a significant number come from adjacent areas served by two other elementary schools. Only a small number come from areas of the community that are rather distant from Holt. Thus, the present PAC has built somewhat upon relationships previously existing among families, although it has been necessary to create some additional relationships. Third, and perhaps most importantly, participation in PAC has been rewarding for individuals and PAC as a group has been successful in many of its attempts to influence Follow Through and the School System. The PAC participates in the selection and recruitment of staff for Follow Through. They raise money to support certain activities in the Follow Through classrooms. The PAC was instrumental in obtaining raises to take effect for the year 1970-71 for parent assistants and teacher aides from $1.30/hour to $2.09/hour for the former group and from $2.35/hour to $2.90/hour for the latter group. They are also represented in the annual discussions about the continuation of Follow Through and in the submission of budget and project proposals to Washington.

It is important to note that as the PAC becomes more fully involved in decision making about Follow Through, they sometimes raise difficult issues and may make proposals that are in conflict with existing procedures and expectations. Before giving some examples, let us try to restate the issue in more general terms. In this school system as in most school systems, there are well developed expectations about the division of responsibility between parents and school officials that is thought to be desirable. Most educational decisions are left to the teachers and school administrators who are viewed as professionals and the experts about education; parents are expected to support these decisions and the school system. These expectations are often implicit but are influential nevertheless.

As a consequence of Follow Through, parents are being given opportunities to participate in decision-making in ways that are in conflict with these conventional expectations. The relationships between parents and school are gradually being modified and a new set of expectations about the division of responsibility between parents and school is gradually being established. These changes take place slowly and sometimes with difficulty. Interestingly enough, these conflicts are often stressful for some one like Mr. Murdoch, who has usually been the key negotiator between parents and school system in the resolution of these conflicts. In addition to being quite literally in the middle, he is also figuratively in the middle, caught between two sets of expectations. As a former principal, he is most familiar with the conventional set of expectations. Through his association with Follow Through, he is also aware of the quite different expectations being developed by parents and perhaps by the Follow Through staff. Thus, in addition to resolving a series of specific conflicts, he has been forced to give some consideration to the problem of developing a workable set of understandings about the role of parents in the decision-making process.

Here are some examples of specific issues which have led to changes in the relationships between parent and school. Over a period of time, the PAC has been participating more and more actively in the selection of new staff for Follow Through. Originally, they participated primarily in the selection of parent aides but they are beginning to have some influence on the selection of teacher aides and teachers as well. Although the Personnel Director for the School District is officially responsible for hiring, procedures have been evolved so that the PAC may interview candidates and act in an advisory capacity. There are some related issues that have been raised about the selection and recruitment of staff. By state law, teacher aides must have at least thirty hours of college credits, although other states have simpler requirements. The PAC has been attempting to have this requirement modified so that more people from the community might be hired as teacher aides and possibly so that parent assistants might gradually **qualify themselves** for promotion to the position of teacher aide. The PAC has also been dissatisfied with the fact that most teachers hired are white while most Follow Through children are black. They would like to see an increase in the number of black and possibly Spanish-speaking teachers. In short, these examples are all indicative of increased parent participation in decisions about staff selection and recruitment, in the definition of qualifications for particular positions, and in increasing the responsibilities of paraprofessionals in classroom activities.

Mrs. Hazelton has also been active in the formation of a career development program which offers college credit for courses given two afternoons a week at the Holt School. This program is available to parents, parent assistants, and teacher aides who wish to improve their educations and to qualify themselves for a wider range of job possibilities. Attempts have also been made to develop opportunities for teachers to work for advanced degrees. Development of such a program has been more difficult, although several teachers are working for advanced degrees at neighboring schools and universities.

Thus a variety of rewards are available to parents through their participation in Follow Through and related activities. They obtain certain satisfactions as they observe the progress that their children are making. They obtain other satisfactions through participation in PAC and through having an opportunity to work more closely with the school and to influence decisions that affect their children's welfare. Some parents have opportunities to work as parent assistants or in some other capacity on the Follow Through staff. All parents have an opportunity to participate in the career development program and to improve their job opportunities.

Monitoring project performance

In a previous section, we indicated that Sponsor A emphasizes the importance of continual monitoring of children's performance and these monitoring procedures are routinely carried out with this local project. We should point out that the instructional component of Sponsor A's program can be readily monitored but that this feature is not characteristic of all Sponsor's programs. Specifically, Sponsor A's program emphasizes reading, mathematics, and handwriting and each of these skills can be readily specified in behavioral terms. Data on children's performance are routinely collected in all classrooms. These data are then returned to University A where they are processed by Sponsor A's staff. Then reports based upon these data are returned to the Follow Through Coordinator for use by her staff. One of Carl Holman's responsibilities is to help with the interpretation of these summary reports.

Recently, the Follow Through staff in Project A1 has become more interested in these efforts to evaluate and monitor classroom performance. They want to make increased use of observational methods in the classroom as well as the more standardized methods that are already in use. There is also some interest in making more extensive comparisons between Follow Through and non-Follow Through children in order to evaluate the relative effectiveness of the project and to identify ways in which project efforts might be improved. Thus, a new position of evaluation aide has just been created and two parents on a full-time basis will be hired as evaluation aides for the coming year (1972-73).

The fact that evaluative data are readily available has had a number of important influences on the development of this particular project. First of all, Mr. Murdoch [later Dr. Olson] made use of these data in order to reassure the Superintendent and the School Board about the "success" of the project. Specifically, he had data on reading accomplishments in the Holt School prior to the implementation of Follow Through. These data were somewhat discouraging. The data that are now being obtained from children in Follow Through classrooms are much more encouraging. Secondly, the data are very helpful to parents, teachers, and all members of the Follow Through project staff. Parents have some tangible evidence of what is being accomplished. Teachers and other staff members also find it rewarding to review direct evidence of accomplishment and are able to use information about progress (or lack of it) for diagnostic purposes and as a basis for additional planing.

Project Implementation in Community A2

In the previous section, we have described in some detail how Follow Through operates in Community A1 and how the implementation of that project has evolved. Let us now use this description of Project A1 as a basis for some comparisons with Project A2 in order to identify some of the similarities as well as the differences that exist between the two projects.

Since both communities work with Sponsor A, it follows that they are implementing the same program. As a consequence, if one were to compare organization charts for the two projects, they would be almost identical: i.e., similar roles and allocations of responsibility exist in both communities. What is different are the ways in which the projects function and how they have evolved.

Mr. Clark,[7] the Associate Superintendent who was responsible for the initiation of the project, was very active in the initial decisions about the implementation of the project. Miss Doan had been working in remedial education and was selected as Follow Through Coordinator. Mrs. Larkin, an experienced teacher in the community, was selected as Training Coordinator. These last two individuals had not been involved in the preliminary discussions about Follow Through and they apparently knew very little about the project when they were first appointed to their present positions. Mr. Clark also made the decision that Follow Through classes would be located in three schools, Lamson, Adams, and Harper, and the principals of these three schools were not involved in these decisions. *In Project A1, all Follow Through classes are* located in a single school and the rule is followed that all classes at a given grade level will be included. In Project A2, the decision was made that Follow Through should be distributed among three schools so that several neighborhoods in the inner city area could participate in the program. Moreover, only a few classes at a given grade level are included at any one school. In spite of the fact that three schools are involved, the sizes of the two projects are approximately the same. Thus, in Community A2, the program is somewhat fragmented and the effort within any one school is relatively small.

---

[7] He resigned to accept another position in Spring 1972. The significance of this change will be discussed subsequently.

For the first year of operation (1969-70), only the Lamson and Adams Schools participated and three Follow Through classrooms at kindergarten level were assigned to each. During the summer of 1969, Miss Doan, Mrs. Larkin and the six new teachers attended a workshop run by Sponsor A. Miss Doan and Mrs. Larkin have both indicated that the experience was rather confusing; as the school year began, they as well as the teachers were quite unclear about their responsibilities and what was expected of them. The difficulties being faced by the project were then compounded by an unfortunate difference of opinion that developed during the first year. Miss Doan along with the Follow Through teachers wanted to use a particular set of mathematics workbooks, ones already being used in the school system. Sponsor A has indicated that when the question first came up, he had no objection but later came to conclude that a different set of materials would be much more appropriate for the implementation of his instructional program. We should note that this controversy developed when Miss Doan and other members of the Follow Through project staff neither understood nor were committed to the Sponsor's instructional program. Eventually, Sponsor A's wishes prevailed although it is apparent that project personnel were not necessarily convinced that the change was a desirable one.

During this period, Miss Wilson, the Sponsor's district advisor, found herself in a very difficult position. She was not yet accepted by the project staff and the controversy impaired her relationships with Miss Doan and Mrs. Larkin. More importantly, she felt impelled to exert influence on Mr. Clark. He resented this influence and asked Sponsor A to terminate her association with the project. There was some delay in replacing Miss Wilson, during which period the project operated without any regular support from the Sponsor.

The difficulties of this period, which lasted through most of the first year of activity, appear to have impeded the development of this project in a variety of ways. It had negative effects on the development of an effective working relationship between Sponsor and project and apparently both Sponsor A as well as Mr. Clark have given some consideration to terminating the project. Interestingly enough, during this period, Mr. Clark made arrangements for Community A2 to undertake a second Follow Through project, with support from a different Sponsor. One can infer that the commitment to working with Sponsor A was thus somewhat limited. A second consequence is that during a very critical period, when the Follow Through project staff were untrained and uncertain about their ability to perform adequately, the District Advisor was put into a position in which she could be of relatively little help. By way of contrast, during this same period

Carl Holman was most active in helping to develop an on-the-job training program for Project A1 and in giving support to the Follow Through Coordinators. Since training did not take place to the extent that would have been desirable for Project A2, the implementation of the instructional program was seriously impaired. Finally, this first year was a very difficult one for the teaching staff as well as for Miss Doan and Mrs. Larkin. Here were a number of individuals who were placed in a new situation with new responsibilities for which they were not adequately prepared. Through no fault of their own, it was difficult for them to acquire a substantial understanding of the Sponsor's program or the necessary skills for meeting their responsibilities. They did the best that they could in order to survive. But the satisfactions that they could obtain from participation in the project were limited and they appear to have ended the year with low morale and limited commitment to Follow Through. Indeed, turnover from the first to the second year was understandably high.

This first year was a particularly difficult year for Miss Doan. To some extent, her response was to become less active and less willing to exercise initiative. The development of the project was hampered as a result.

Although the first year had been a difficult one, some improvements began to take place in the second year. The project officer responsible for the monitoring of this project became quite concerned over the development of the project and actively intervened in order to resolve some of the conflicts between Sponsor A and Community A2.

She is a skillful and persistent mediator and was able to iron out some of the difficulties. She placed considerable emphasis on finding a new District Advisor who was both experienced and acceptable to Mr. Clark. At that time, Sponsor A had just appointed Dave Lester as Associate Director for the program. Lester had had previous experience with another Sponsor. After some persuasion from the project officer, he agreed to serve as District Advisor for the coming year. Since Sponsor A has considerable confidence in Lester, he was given a rather free hand in working with Project A2.

During the second year, Lester was in a position to review the status of the project after one year of activities, to identify some of the difficulties that had arisen in the past and were still impairing the effectiveness of the project, and to attempt to alleviate some of these difficulties. What were some of these difficulties?

1. A relationship based on some degree of mutual mistrust had developed between the key administrator in the School System (Mr. Clark) and Sponsor A and his staff.

2. Key members of the Follow Through Project staff - Miss Doan and Mrs. Larkin were somewhat demoralized and found themselves in a very difficult situation. For example, Miss Doan often needed help from someone in the school system in order to work out issues that would arise between the project and the school system. She did not have ready access to Mr. Clark although she did have access to some of his administrative assistants. They were sympathetic but

not often able to be helpful. As Miss Doan became more discouraged, she tended to have somewhat less active involvement in the project; she was sometimes reluctant to take the initiative and was more likely to respond passively to events around her. Note the contrast with Project A1 where Mrs. Fisher was active, optimistic, and received strong support from Mr. Murdoch.

3. For a variety of reasons, the teaching staff-teachers, teaching aides, and parent assistants - were also discouraged and less than fully committed to the project. They needed more training and were uncertain about how to carry out their responsibilities. As a consequence, there was some tendency to look for someone to blame. And some of these negative views tended to impair the ability of the teaching teams to work together effectively. Some of the teaching staff also directed their annoyance toward the Sponsor and details of his program as well as towards key members of the project staff.

4. Relationships between the project and the two schools in which Follow Through classrooms operated during the first year were also impaired. The two school principals were annoyed that they were rarely consulted when decisions were being made about the project. When interviewed, they emphasized that the project was a nuisance for them. In Project A1, it was clear that the school principal, Mrs. Armstrong, took pride in the project and viewed it as part of her program. In Project A2, both Mr. Joyce, principal of the Lamson School, as well as Mrs. Sweet, principal of the Adams School, were dissatisfied, although they did have some interest in the potential accomplishments of the project, particularly for the children.

5. Finally, during this first year, there was only limited success in developing a program of parent involvement. In part, only limited

efforts had been made to develop the program. In addition, there are certain characteristics of Community A2 that make it more difficult to carry out a program of parent involvement. Community A2 is much larger than Community A1 and the parents eligible to join the PAC are divided among three schools. Thus, there are fewer existing relationships within the community that can contribute to the formation of the PAC. In addition, it seems reasonable to assume that parents in Community A2 are more alienated from community institutions than were parents in Community A1; this factor also contributes to the difficulties of organizing a program of parent involvement.

We should note in passing that the actions undertaken by individuals who are under pressure and discouraged can often be self-defeating. For example, as Miss Doan became discouraged, she became less active in helping the Follow Through teachers. In turn, they became more discouraged and inclined to blame Miss Doan, who in turn became more discouraged.

During the second year of operations (1970-71) Dave Lester took active steps to alleviate the difficulties that impaired the effectiveness of the project. During that year, a third school, the Harper School, with Mrs. Kendall as Principal began to work with Follow Through. As of 1970-71, the organization of this Follow Through project was as outlined in Figure 3.4.

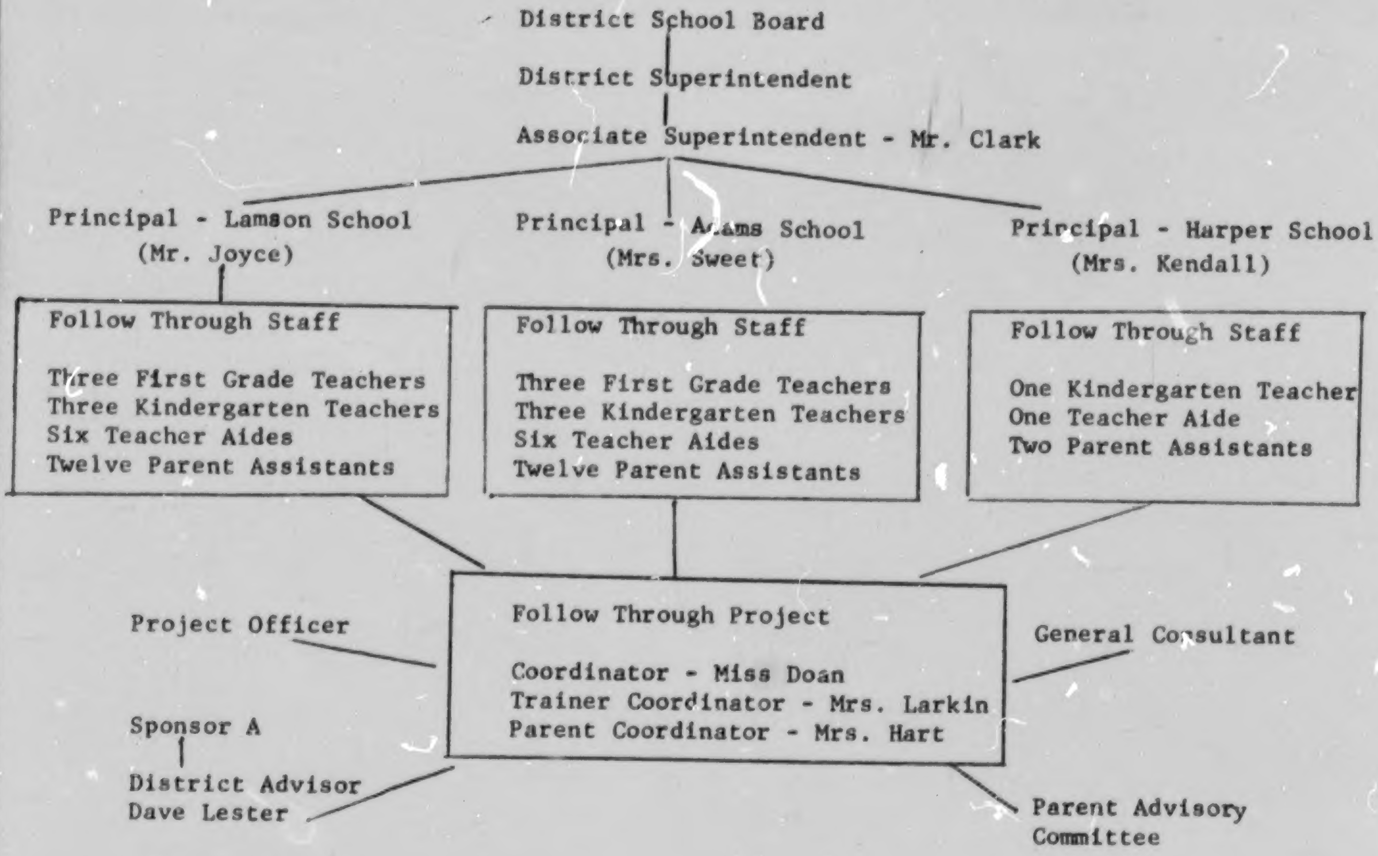
District School Board
District Superintendent
Associate Superintendent - Mr. Clark
Principal - Lamson School (Mr. Joyce)
Principal - Adams School (Mrs. Sweet)
Principal - Harper School (Mrs. Kendall)
Follow Through Staff
Three First Grade Teachers
Three Kindergarten Teachers
Six Teacher Aides
Twelve Parent Assistants
Follow Through Staff
Three First Grade Teachers
Three Kindergarten Teachers
Six Teacher Aides
Twelve Parent Assistants
Follow Through Staff
One Kindergarten Teacher
One Teacher Aide
Two Parent Assistants
Project Officer
Follow Through Project
Coordinator - Miss Doan
Trainer Coordinator - Mrs. Larkin
Parent Coordinator - Mrs. Hart
General Consultant
Sponsor A
District Advisor
Dave Lester
Parent Advisory Committee

Fig. 3.4 Organization of the Follow Through Staff in Community A2 during School year 1970-71.

By the end of the second year, the effectiveness of the project had improved in a number of important respects. These included the following:

1. The relationship between Sponsor and the Community's School Administrators had improved and been stabilized. Lester had worked quite carefully and effectively with key assistants to Mr. Clark and these individuals had become more supportive of the project. Although Mr. Clark could not always be actively involved with Follow Through, partly because of the pressures of his other responsibilities, he appears to have developed some reasonable level of confidence in Lester. He appears to have decided that the project activities were under control and that satisfactory progress was being made. It is important to note that the effectiveness of the project had indeed improved and that Mr. Clark and his assistants were aware of these accomplishments. At the end of the year, Lester was satisfied that an atmosphere of mutual trust now existed between himself and Mr. Clark's staff, although he still hoped that the staff would become more actively involved in supporting Miss Doan in carrying out her responsibilities.

2. Lester also worked very hard with Miss Doan and Mrs. Larkin to improve the effectiveness of the teaching staff and to help them develop more confidence in their ability to carry out their responsibilities. The in-service training activities for the teaching staff began to function more smoothly. Again, because of the Sponsor's emphasis on continuous evaluation of the progress being made by the children, the teaching staff gradually became aware that the instructional activities were operating more effectively and they began to be impressed with what was being accomplished in the classroom. Their commitment to the project

improved. However, some of the teaching teams of four adults continued to experience some difficulties in working together. For reasons that are not completely clear, there is more evidence of friction within some of the teaching teams at the Lamson School than there is at the Adams School. We have no explanation for the differences between the two schools but can identify certain reasons why friction might develop between teachers, teacher assistants, and parent aides at any of the schools. First of all, there are both socio-economic as well as racial differences between teachers, teacher assistants, and parent aides. The socio-economic differences follow almost automatically from the educational requirements that are specified for each of these positions. Teachers must have a college degree and be certified. Teacher assistants must have a high school degree and may have some college experience. Note that in Project A1, which is in a different state, the educational requirement for teacher assistants is more severe; thirty (30) hours of college credits are required. There are no educational requirements for parent aides, the majority of whom have not completed high school. As a corollary of the educational requirements, teachers are more likely to be white and/or middle-class; parent aides are most likely to be black (and working-class). In the Lamson School, Mr. Joyce usually attempts to set up teams that are racially mixed, while at the Adams School, Mrs. Sweet usually attempts to set up teams that are racially homogeneous. There is also some friction between teacher assistants and parent aides over certain fringe responsibilities and benefits. Parent aides have access to free child care facilities while teacher assistants do not. Teacher assistants have to attend a three-week training workshop without extra pay while parent aides do not. It is interesting to note that the friction within teams is not necessarily along racial lines. Indeed black teachers with middle-class backgrounds are often quite critical of the behavior and views expressed by black parent aides of working class backgrounds. We have also noted that the two principals, Mr. Joyce and Mrs. Sweet, react quite differently to the presence of friction within these teaching teams. Mr. Joyce, partly because of the pressure of other responsibilities, tends not to interfere but to let the teams work out their own solutions. Mrs. Sweet plays a more active role and is much more likely to intervene in order to deal with the difficulties.

One can draw the following conclusion from these observations about friction within some of the teaching teams. There are certainly many reasons for predicting that friction might develop within the teams. There are stresses associated with the work itself and the responsibilities undertaken by the teams. There are significant differences in the methods of payment and fringe benefits for different roles. Finally, there are significant differences within the teams on the basis of socio-economic and racial backgrounds. More importantly, the teachers, who are in the position of supervisors, have usually little experience as well as training for supervising adults, since most of their experience has prepared them for dealing primarily with children. Undoubtedly, the teachers would benefit from additional support and training for carrying out their responsibilities as supervisors of these classroom teams.

3. Lester was very sensitive to the strained relationships that had existed between Follow Through and the principals of those schools in which Follow Through classrooms were located. During the winter of 1970-71,

the principals had an opportunity to take part in a workshop offered by Sponsor A. They indicate that this was the first time that they had had an opportunity to learn about the Sponsor's instructional program. Participation in this conference was clearly helpful, although the principals also indicate that they wished that such an opportunity had been available at an earlier time. There are several other issues about which principals feel strongly and some progress has been made in resolving these issues.

First is the issue of control of activities within their school. Apparently, during the first year, decisions would sometimes be made about Follow Through children in a particular school without informing the principal of that school. For example, children returned from a field trip after normal cafeteria hours for serving lunch had expired. One principal was upset because arrangements had not been made beforehand for serving these Follow Through children. On other occasions, children would leave the school under the supervision of Follow Through staff to visit a medical or dental clinic. However, the principal was not aware that they had left the building. In a sense the issue can be stated as "who is in charge of the school?" Clearly the principals assume that they are and that they will be kept informed about all activities that concern children within "their" school. Lester and Miss Doan were able to deal with this issue quite effectively. During the past year, they have consistently indicated to the principals that the principals are indeed "in charge" and some simple systems have been instituted for keeping the principals informed.

A second issue concerns the relationships between the principals and Miss Doan as well as other members of the Follow Through project staff. The principals were bitter about how the project ran during the first year and tended to blame Miss Doan in particular as well as her immediate associates. In addition, as Miss Doan became discouraged and less active for a time, the principals (Mr. Joyce and Mrs. Sweet) became more convinced that she was not doing as much as she should in order to help the program. These principals were quite free in making critical comments about Miss Doan to Mr. Clark, the Sponsor, as well as to others. Miss Doan in return was hurt and annoyed. During the second year, as Dave Lester worked with Miss Doan, some improvement in the operation of the project became noticeable and Miss Doan did become more active and more optimistic. As a result, her relationships to Mr. Joyce have improved considerably. We should also note that the project staff is located on the grounds of Mr. Joyce's school so that Miss Doan has more opportunity for contact with him than she does with the other principals. Mrs. Kendall, whose school did not become involved with Follow Through until 1970-71, is responsible only for a single Follow Through classroom. At any rate, she has been much less critical of Miss Doan. Unfortunately, Mrs. Sweet has continued to be critical of the Follow Through Staff, even though she has become much more positively committed to the program itself.

A third issue has to do with the PAC particularly as it became more active during the second year. A number of PAC members have begun to indicate that they want to have some influence on the selection of Parent Aides, to have some influence on the policies governing the expenditure of Title I and Follow Through funds, and to participate in the writing of the annual Follow Through Proposal for the renewal of funds. To some extent, the principals have been disturbed by the efforts of the PAC to influence decisions being made about the program. The issue is in part a matter of a group of professionals (principals and some teachers) feeling that these sorts of questions should be left to professional educators and that parents as members of PAC are not properly qualified. Interestingly enough, the guidelines clearly support participation of parents and the PAC in these decisions. Accordingly, the parents receive strong support from the Sponsor as well as the project officer. During this second year, the parents began to have some opportunity to participate in decisions about the program, although Mr. Clark and the principals continue to have misgivings about the wisdom of this development.

A final issue that has concerned the principals has to do with their opportunity to participate in decision making about the program and in the annual contract negotiations. During the first year, they were not consulted and were as little involved as were the parents. During the second year, due to the influence of Dave Lester, Sponsor A, and the project officer, they did have an opportunity to participate more fully in planning for the coming year and in the contract negotiations.

Thus, by the end of the second year, the principals had become more favorably impressed with the performance of the program and more satisfied with their relationships to the project staff, although some difficulties continued to remain unresolved.

4. Also during this second year, Lester made a major effort to support a program of parent involvement. He worked closely with Mrs.

Hunt, who had just been appointed Parent Coordinator after having served the previous year as a Parent Aide. She has lived in the community for some time, has children in Follow Through, and knows personally a number of parents whose children are in Follow Through. Partly through her efforts, the PAC has become much more active during this second year and attendance at PAC meetings has improved considerably. We have noted before that Mrs. Hunt's work is complicated by the fact that the Follow Through parents come from at least three separate neighborhoods. As a result, the PAC may be viewed somewhat as a coalition of neighborhood groups with the members of the coalition having had little previous experience at working together.

One effect of this strengthened program of parent involvement is that the parents have been able to precipitate discussions about two important issues, neither of which had been discussed either fully or openly. One issue had to do with the preparation of the annual proposal for project renewal and for broader participation in the preparation of that proposal. In the past, the proposal has been prepared primarily by senior administrators in the school system and neither parents, school principals, or teachers were included. The parents initiated an open discussion that this procedure should be changed. They received support from the Sponsor, the principals, and, more importantly, the project officer. As a result, this last proposal was reviewed and discussed by a much larger group than had previously been the case. Note that the preparation of the proposal is of considerable importance since, at that time, the objectives of the program can be reviewed and revised and the activities to be undertaken can be modified.

The second issue concerned Miss Doan and the effectiveness of her staff. Through the efforts of the parents, there was an open discussion, with Miss Doan, her staff, and Dave Lester present, about the criticisms that parents (as well as others) had about the functioning of the project. Although the discussion was sometimes heated, the net effect was constructive. Critical views were expressed openly whereas in the past they had been expressed indirectly and privately. As a result of this meeting, the Follow Through staff has become more active and the past criticisms have moderated.

We have indicated that by the end of this second year, some progress had been made in improving the effectiveness of the project organization. What indeed had been accomplished and what improvements would be desirable as the project entered its third year of operation? First of all, through a variety of efforts, the instructional and parent involvement components of the project were functioning more effectively. There was a secondary consequence to the improvements in the instructional component: members of the teaching staff recognized the accomplishment and were increasingly satisfied about their roles in the project. In addition, parents and school officials, including school principals, were more impressed with the project activities. Secondly, at the end of the first year, there had developed a climate of mutual suspicion and mistrust which contributed to some serious misunderstandings and impaired the effectiveness of the project organization. To some extent, relationships among key subsystems have improved and individuals are more optimistic about working together. For the future, it is important that this more optimistic climate continue and that the effectiveness of project activities continue to improve. Finally, as the PAC has become more active, they have had an opportunity to influence certain decisions. However, some administrators as well as teachers and principals have become uneasy about the implications of this increased activity. These issues about the role of the PAC in decision-making are important and remain unresolved.

Project Implementation in Community B1

Projects B1 and B2 have one feature in common: they work with Sponsor B while Projects A1 and A2 work with Sponsor A. Thus these two pairs of projects differ in part because of the differences between these two sponsors. To begin with, they have different views about education. More importantly, there are organizational implications that follow from their differing views about how to implement their respective educational objectives. Certain differences between sponsors may be viewed as primary and focus on how class rooms are organized: the pattern of activities within classrooms and the assignment of responsibilities and functions to those adults who work with the classrooms. There are also some secondary differences that focus on the support that is given to classroom activities -- how training is provided and how classroom activities are coordinated and supervised by sponsor and project staff.

Let us look first of all at differences that may be observed in classrooms. In Projects B1 and B2, there are routinely assigned two adults to each classroom, a teacher and a teacher aide, while in Projects A1 and A2 there are four adults per classroom, a teacher, teacher aide, and two parent assistants. Interestingly enough, the number of students per classroom does not differ markedly among the four classrooms, although the average number in Projects A1 and A2 is slightly higher than in Projects B1 and B2 (28 vs. 23). Thus, the pupil per adult ratio is somewhat lower in Projects A1 and A2 than it is in Projects B1 and B2 (7 vs. 11.5). In all four projects, there is only one certified teacher per classroom and this teacher is "in charge." Teacher aides in all cases have a high school diploma, possibly some college, and function as para-professionals.

In those projects working with Sponsor A, classroom activities tend to be structured and the pattern of activities varies little from day to day. Routinely, there are work periods alternating with play periods. During a work period, children are organized into one of four groups of approximately equal size. More importantly, there is a rather well defined division of responsibility among the four adults, with the teacher routinely responsible for reading (one group), the teacher aide responsible for mathematics (one group), and the parent aides responsible for the other two groups.

By way of contrast, classroom activities for those projects working with Sponsor B are structured in a much more complex way[8] and the pattern of activities does not necessarily repeat itself from day to day. As a consequence of the more-or-less open classroom, children often engage in projects or use certain familiar and natural activities as a vehicle for learning to read, learning mathematics, etc. We are not in a position to go into detail about the differences in classroom activities for Sponsor A and Sponsor B, but it does appear to be true that the role of a teacher in Projects B1 and B2 is quite complex; she has no routine formula for subdividing the children into groups such that she will work with one and the teacher aide with the other. She also has no routine formula for the management of time, i.e. for organizing the day into blocks of time for different activities. In addition, she is not routinely provided with curriculum materials as is the case with Projects A1 and A2. She must to some extent develop her own materials so that she can implement the activities that she wishes to undertake. In short, in Projects A1 and A2, certain decisions have already been made by the sponsor about the structuring of time and the selection of curriculum materials. In Projects B1 and B2, these decisions may vary from day-to-day and are the continuing responsibility of the teacher to make.

---

[8] As we shall later point out, there has been an evolution in both Projects B1 and B2 toward more structure in classroom activities.

Teachers in all four projects are responsible for coordinating their efforts with those of the other adults in the classroom. With which set of projects is this responsibility the more complex? With Sponsor A's model, each teacher is responsible for a team of four adults, instead of the two that work together with Sponsor B's model. Yet it is our impression that the teachers working with Projects B1 and B2 have at least as much difficulty in coordinating the efforts of the one other adult. In projects A1 and A2, the roles of the teacher aide and parent assistants have been well-defined by the sponsor and change little from day-to-day. In Projects B1 and B2, the teacher must try to define from day-to-day a set of responsibilities for the teacher aide and the responsibilities must be redefined at frequent intervals.

Finally, all of these teachers share in common that they are expected to learn the sponsor's model and, by implication, to learn to conform to his expectations about the responsibilities to be performed by each classroom teacher.

In all four projects, there is a provision made for training and support of the classroom staff. In Projects B1 and B2 there is one program assistant for every 6-8 classrooms. As a general rule in these projects, this is likely to be the number of classrooms in a single school so that quite routinely there is one program assistant per school. Basically, the program assistant is responsible for the training and support of the teachers with whom she works. By implication, the Follow Through Coordinator and the Sponsor's Field Representative deal primarily with the program assistants rather than the teachers and teacher aides. Thus in these two projects there is approximately one trainer for every six to eight teachers plus an equal number of teacher aides.

In Projects A1 and A2 there is no role corresponding to that of program assistant. Training is carried out partly by the trainer coordinator supported by the Follow Through Coordinator and the Sponsor's field representative. In addition, there may be a parent trainer or coordinator working more closely with the parent aides. In Figure 3.5, there is a summary of the training staff in each project along with the number of staff being trained. Since the field representatives in all

	Project A1	Project A2	Project B1	Project B2
Trainers	Follow Through Coordinator Staff Trainer Parent Coordinator Parent Trainer	Follow Through Coordinator Trainer Coordinator Parent Coordinator	4 Program Assistants	4 Program Assistants
Trainees	19 Teachers 19 Teacher Aides 38 Parent Assistants	13 Teachers 13 Teacher Aides 26 Parent Assistants	25 Teachers 25 Teacher Aides	22 Teachers 24 Teacher Aides

Figure 3.5 Organization of classroom training in four projects, as of 1971-72.

cases are present only part-time and function primarily as trainers of trainers, we have omitted them from this summary. For each of these projects, we have computed the ratio of the number of trainees to the number of trainers as some indication of the commitment of resources to training in each of these projects. In Projects A1 and A2, these ratios are 28.5 and 17 respectively; in Projects B1 and B2, the comparable ratios are 12.5 and 11.5. These figures give some indication of the fact that the requirements for staff training are more complex with Sponsor B's instructional model than with Sponsor A's.

There is one final difference between the two sets of projects that we will elaborate on in the subsequent discussion. With Sponsor A's model, Project coordinators work closely with classroom activities. They are likely to be experienced teachers and to spend much of their time in staff training. And in Projects A1 and A2, both coordinators are women. In Projects B1 and B2, both coordinators are men. They are much less likely to work closely with classroom activities and more likely to be involved in overall coordination and liaison activities with the school system. In one project (B2), the first coordinator as well as the present coordinator are former school principals. In the other project (B1), the present coordinator is a former mathematics teacher who functions primarily in an administrative capacity. Thus,there is a marked difference between the two pairs of projects in the set of responsibilities carried out by the Project Coordinator and in the type of person who is likely to be recruited for the position.

Let us now return to a more detailed consideration of project implementation in Community B1. The general theme that we want to review is that there were some initial difficulties that interfered with the establishment of working relationships between sponsor and community. Subsequently, attempts were made to alleviate these difficulties. Since the attempts were substantially successful, the effectiveness of the project activities has been significantly improved. As an aid to the subsequent discussion, let us also introduce a summary of the Follow Through organization in Community B2. This summary is given in Figure 3.6.

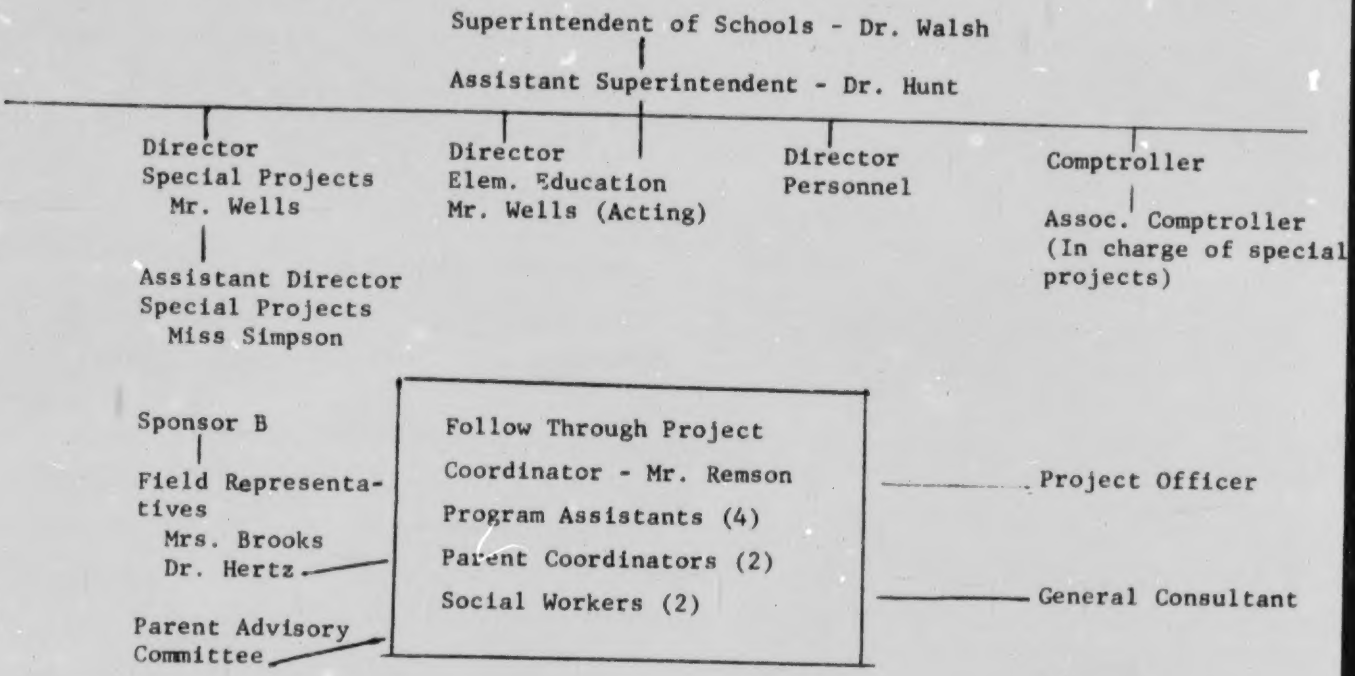
Superintendent of Schools - Dr. Walsh
Assistant Superintendent - Dr. Hunt
Director
Special Projects
Mr. Wells
Director
Elem. Education
Mr. Wells (Acting)
Director
Personnel
Comptroller
Assoc. Comptroller
(In charge of special
projects)
Assistant Director
Special Projects
Miss Simpson
Sponsor B
Field Representa-
tives
Mrs. Brooks
Dr. Hertz
Parent Advisory
Committee
Follow Through Project
Coordinator - Mr. Remson
Program Assistants (4)
Parent Coordinators (2)
Social Workers (2)
Project Officer
General Consultant

Figure 3.6 Organization of the Follow Through Project in Community B1 during school year 1970-71 (Note: the basic structure of the organization has remained unchanged over the period 1968-71.

Basically, the organization of the project has remained unchanged over a three-year period, although there have been some significant changes in key personnel holding positions in this organization.

The project began in 1967-68 as an unsponsored project with Miss Bright as the first Follow Through Coordinator. She had previously been director of the Head Start program in this community. During that first year, Community B1 was advised that they ought to be working with a sponsor. After several sponsors were considered as possibilities, a decision was reached to work with Sponsor B. This decision appears to have been made primarily by Miss Bright along with Miss Wilson, who was Director of Elementary Education at that time, Mr. Wells, Director of Special Projects, Dr. Hart, the Assistant Superintendent, and Dr. Walsh, Superintendent of Schools. The beginnings of some potential difficulties between sponsor and community began at this time, since the community officials felt that they were coerced into choosing a sponsor. However, it seems clear that community officials were initially open-minded in their dealing with Sponsor B and that subsequent events were very important in further complicating this relationship between sponsor and project.

Our first contact with Community B1 took place during the school year, 1970-71. By that time, several changes in key personnel had been made. Let us identify each of these changes and attempt to consider their significance for the project. Miss Bright had been replaced by Bob Remson as Follow Through Coordinator. Bob is significantly younger and could consider himself to be a much less experienced teacher, particularly at the elementary school level. Yet, there seems to be agreement that the project functions much more smoothly now that he is coordinator. How does one explain this apparent improvement? One reason for improvement is that Bob Remson has much better relationships with other individuals in the school system than did Miss Bright. Her previous experience had been with Head Start which did not operate through the school system, but rather through the local Community Action Program (CAP). She tended to act as if Follow Through were her **personal project** and to expect that officials in the school system should not interfere. As a result, there was relatively little communication between her and the school principals, as well as with Mr. Wells, Director of Special Projects. Also cooperative working relationships between Follow Through and these individuals did not develop. What motivated her behavior is not clear. But the consequences were that key individuals in the school system knew relatively little about Follow Through and obtained little satisfaction if any from the achievements of the program. Remson operates quite differently. He works very closely with principals as well as Mr. Wells. It is clear that his intention is to communicate the view that the objectives of the Follow Through project are consistent with the objectives of the principals as well as the school system and that Follow Through is in some sense their program. He has been partially successful in communicating this point-of-view. In addition, Bob Remson has better working relationships with the Follow Through staff, particularly the teachers and program assistants. Miss Bright, being an experienced teacher, was very much involved in the implementation of the instructional program and exercised rather close supervision over the classroom activities. Again, it is difficult to reconstruct what actually happened during this first year of operation with the sponsor. However, it is apparent that the relationship between Miss Bright, the program assistants, and the teachers deteriorated over the period of a year. To some extent Miss Bright was perceived as making most of the decisions, particularly the important ones, and as being somewhat unwilling to listen to the expressions of dissatisfaction from the Follow Through staff. As we shall see later, the staff was uncertain about carrying out their responsibilities and felt that they were not getting sufficient support from their supervisors. In a sense, Miss Bright appears to have relied on one-way communications such that the flow of communications from the staff to her was rather limited. At the end of this first year, by mutual agreement, Miss Bright was transferred to another position in the school system and her responsibilities were taken over by Bob Remson.

In dealing with the staff, Remson defines his responsibilities rather differently than did Miss Bright. On the one hand, he leaves most of the decisions affecting the classroom to the program assistants, the teachers and field representatives. In effect, a greater responsibility for the implementation of the program has been delegated to the teaching staff. Quite clearly, the teachers and program assistants enjoy having this additional responsibility. On the other hand, Remson is much more active in mediating between the Follow Through staff and the school system. Since his relationships to individuals in the school system are good, he is quite successful in carrying out this mediating role.

There is a second change in personnel that has had beneficial results and again, Bob Remson, as a mediator, has been instrumental in bringing about this change. During 1969-70 and into the fall of 1970, Miss Murray acted as field representative for Sponsor B. She was experienced as a teacher, particularly in the field of bilingual education but over a period of time was unable to maintain the confidence of the teachers and program assistants. As a result, the Follow Through staff felt that the sponsor was giving insufficient support to the project staff. For a period of time negotiations took place between sponsor and project with Remson, supported by Dr. Hart, the Assistant Superintendent, and the Project Officer, attempting to obtain better support from the sponsor. Eventually, Remson requested that Miss Murray be replaced with someone who was a more experienced teacher and a more effective trainer of trainers (the program assistants). With some reluctance on the part of the sponsor, Miss Murray was replaced by Mrs. Brooks. Subsequently, the relationship between sponsor and project began to improve and is now on a much more satisfactory basis.

To some extent, we feel that Miss Murray was treated partly as a scapegoat for some difficulties that had arisen between sponsor and project and we want to describe these difficulties as best we can. Teachers as a rule were assigned to Follow Through and did not volunteer for the project. As the project began, teachers received training from Sponsor B but usually felt uncertain about carrying out their responsibilities. There is a sense in which the sponsor (any sponsor) is responsible for the introduction of technological change into the school system. The sponsor's educational model differs from the educational assumptions being made prior to the initiation of the project. The net effect is that teachers find that their previously acquired skills are no longer adequate or valid and that they must acquire a new repertoire of skills in order to perform successfully, Thus, it should be no surprise that teachers were made anxious about their competence as they first began to work with Follow Through and that they looked for help in dealing with these anxieties. Now, Sponsor B's program operates on the assumption that teachers will receive help from program assistants (trainers) who in turn will be helped by the sponsor's field representative (the trainer of trainers). Initially at least, the program assistants had no more familiarity with the sponsor's model than did the teachers. As a result, all of the burden of responsibility for training was focused on the field representative who was viewed as the expert who knew all about the sponsor's model.

The position of Miss Murray was made additionally complex because of certain key characteristics of the sponsor's model. One key characteristic follows from the unstructured nature of the instructional program and from the emphasis on an open-classroom. Participants in Project B1 (and also B2) are likely to state that Sponsor B's model is well-defined in general terms but not specifically. What do they mean to imply by such a statement? Our interpretation is that the model is well-defined in terms of characteristics that an instructional program should possess or criteria to which it should conform. But the behavioral objectives to be achieved by the program are less well-defined and an operational specification of the implications of the general principles tends to be left undefined. In a sense, it has been the responsibility of the implementor (local project staff) to work out an operational specification of the model.

There is one other characteristic of the sponsor's model that led to difficulties. In Community B1, there is considerable emphasis on the acquisition of reading skills and local personnel feel that the sponsor's model is not specific enough in the area of reading. Interestingly enough, they conclude that Sponsor B gives insufficient attention to the particular requirements of local communities, thus implying that, although their community places great emphasis on reading, other communities might not. It is our impression that other communities (such as B2) are equally concerned about reading and that this is simply a specific example of an area in which the sponsor's model needed further specification in order to meet the demands of local communities.

At any rate, these pressures for supplying the community with a more specific definition of curriculum and of behavioral objectives were initially directed at Miss Murray and unfortunately she could neither cope with the situation on her own nor could she obtain sufficient support from Sponsor B. The local staff perceived her as not being helpful enough and perhaps as not being experienced enough in the details of the Sponsor's model. As a consequence, the relationships between the local staff and Miss Murray as well as Sponsor B deteriorated as the staff lost confidence in their ability to help.

Mrs. Brooks replaced Miss Murray during the academic year 1970-71. She has a good deal of confidence, is quite dynamic and experienced, and the local staff developed a high degree of respect for her ability to help them. In part, she responded to their need for additional specification and was able to be helpful in working out specific details of the Sponsor's program, particularly in the area of reading. In addition, she appears to be more forceful in communicating to Sponsor B the feelings of the Project staff and in influencing the Sponsor to respond to the complaints being made by Community B1. At the same time, she was able to maintain a good relationship between herself and Sponsor B. Somewhat ironically, after Miss Murray had been removed, Sponsor B began a major effort to place greater emphasis on reading, to develop a statement about behavioral objectives, and to define the instructional program in more specific terms. If the results of these efforts had been available, Miss Murray might have been much more able to carry out her responsibilities to Community B1.

To some extent, these difficulties in implementation can be traced back to some of the difficulties of taking a successful but small program and in revising it for use on a larger scale. This Sponsor's model was first implemented in a single school with the originator of the model, Professor Hawks, performing the combined functions of field representative and program assistant. Thus, she worked very closely with teachers and was able to help translate general principles into an operational program. As the program expanded into a number of communities, it became impossible for any one individual, such as Professor Hawks, to work closely with each of the projects but there has been a tendency to underestimate the complex responsibility being assigned to the Field Representative. Current efforts of the Sponsor to give more support to Field Representatives should help to resolve some of the difficulties and to make it easier for the Field Representative to carry out his or her assigned responsibilities.

The position of Field Representative also has some important human relations responsibilities that are difficult to carry out. The Field Representative functions often as the chairman of a staff group made up of program assistants and other supporting staff. At times the program assistants are operating under considerable stress. It would appear that the role of chairman of such a group is often a difficult one and that Field Representatives, as experienced teachers, are not necessarily well-prepared for taking on such a responsibility. Mrs. Brooks, however, appears to be quite capable in handling the human relations aspects of her position, a fact which has contributed to her success in maintaining a good relationship with the Project staff.

There is a third personnel change that is of significance. When the Follow Through Project was first established, it was supervised by two different individuals, both of whom reported to Dr. Hart. On the one hand, Follow Through was defined as a Special project and reported to Mr. Wells and Miss Simpson who were Director and Assistant Director for Special Projects. Follow Through also reported to Miss Wilson, Director of Elementary Education. The two directors had somewhat different views about Follow Through and this complicated the position of the Follow Through Coordinator. Miss Wilson tended to expect the project to remain somewhat isolated from the rest of the school system, thus following the pattern of operation of Head Start. Mr. Wells, on the other hand, has consistently seen the need for coordination of Follow Through with the rest of the School System and has anticipated that Follow Through would have implications for elementary education throughout the School System. To some extent, he has been a strong supporter of Follow Through, although he has also been a forceful critic of Sponsor B, particularly when he felt that the community was not receiving sufficient support. Miss Wilson was a somewhat more luke-warm supporter and continued to resent the fact that a Sponsor had been forced on the community. During the year 1970-71, she became ill and left the School System. At first, Mr. Wells became acting Director of Elementary Education while holding his old position as well. He is now fully empowered as Director of Elementary Education. As a result, Follow Through now reports to a single individual, Mr. Wells, and this makes it easier for Bob Remson to function effectively. In addition, Mr. Wells works closely with Dr. Hart and the relationship of the project to the Assistant Superintendent has thus been improved. Finally, with the support of Mr. Wells, Bob Remson has been successful in improving the coordination between Follow Through and the school principals in which the Follow Through classes are located.

Partly through the influence of Mr. Wells and Bob Remson, a gradual reorientation of the objectives for this project has taken place.

Initially, Follow Through was viewed by key officials and the School Board as an extension of Head Start and as a device for obtaining money for disadvantaged children. It was not viewed as an interesting opportunity to explore some instructional innovations nor as leading to some desirable institutional change. By implication, it was thought of as a program for a special group of students who needed to be compensated for some deficiencies and as having little relevance for the majority of students who were free of these deficiencies. Gradually, there has developed an awareness that the program has a variety of important educational implications and that these innovations are of potential relevance to elementary education as a whole.

Let us now review what was accomplished during the year 1970-71 and what still remained to be accomplished at the end of that year.

1. Partly as a result of these changes in personnel, relationships between the School System and the Sponsor have significantly improved. Mrs. Brooks has earned the respect of the local staff as well as of Bob Remson and has helped to stabilize a good working relationship between Sponsor B and Community B1.

If one were to try to measure the level of trust that existed between Sponsor and Community, there was a low point characterized by a significant level of mistrust. Some reasonable degree of trust now exists. What is more important is that Community personnel feel reasonably confident that they are making progress and that difficulties that now exist are being resolved.

2. There are perhaps three areas in which the Community wishes to improve, all of which lead to continued pressure on the Sponsor for

additional support. First of all, there is a continuing effort to provide teachers and program assistants with additional instructional support, particularly in the area of reading. The effect of this effort is to clarify the classroom implications of the Sponsor's model and to specify it in operational terms. Secondly, there is a continuing effort to develop more effective procedures for monitoring the effectiveness of the program. To some extent, almost everyone associated with the Project shares this objective although often for different reasons. For example, it is important to the staff to be able to assess what they are accomplishing, to reassure themselves that they are making progress, and to reorient their efforts in order to improve their effectiveness. Similarly, it is important to parents to be able to recognize that their children are indeed making progress toward the achievement of recognizable and important educational objectives. In somewhat different fashion, school officials, such as Mr. Wells, his superiors, and the School Board, are concerned about assessing the project accomplishments and preparing themselves for decisions about the Project which must eventually be made.

In order to monitor the Project effectiveness, two related efforts are necessary. One is to specify a set of behavioral objectives for the Project, while a second is to develop methods of assessment that are pertinent to these behavioral objectives. Sponsor B is making a major effort both in specifying behavioral objectives as well as in their assessment. It is interesting to note that this effort puts him in something of a dilemma. As one attempts to specify behavioral objectives, there is a danger that one will lose some of the potential value of the open classroom approach and will unnecessarily compromise the instructional model that he has been following. Yet, Sponsor B and his staff appear to be optimistic that they can be more specific about their educational model without seriously compromising its effectiveness.

Finally, the community is attempting to improve the effectiveness of its parent involvement component and is, in part, looking for additional help from the Sponsor in order to accomplish this objective. Parent involvement has had an interesting history in this Community. Initially, at least, Sponsor B placed greatest emphasis on the instructional component of his program and, indeed, the so-called parent involvement component has not been implemented in all communities. In addition, there are separate Field Representatives for each of these components, with Dr. Hertz serving as the Field Representative for the Parent Involvement component. While Miss Murray was serving as Field Representative and Miss Bright as Follow Through Coordinator, there appears to have been rather little attention paid to the program of parent involvement. Both of these individuals appear to have been primarily interested in the instructional program. In addition, the demands on their time were so severe that it would have been difficult for them to have devoted additional attention to parent involvement. The situation changed after Mrs. Brooks and Bob Remson became involved with the project. Both of them place considerable emphasis on parent involvement and this program made considerable progress during 1970-71. Much of the parent activity centers around a parent house which has been rented by Follow Through and is the center of activity for the PAC. At the present time, the initiative for expansion of this program is being taken by Bob Remson with the support of his supervisors and the Project Officer; i.e., the initiative is not being taken by the Sponsor, although he is in support of this increased effort.

Dr. Heruz is an anthropologist and is located on the campus of University B. As an anthropologist, he tends to operate more as an observer rather than to be actively involved in the development of the program activities. He tends to act as advisor to Bob Remson, to two Parent Coordinators, and to the officials of PAC. Community Officials, including Bob Remson and Mr. Wells, are committed to expanding the program of parent involvement. They are also concerned about the problems of coordinating the efforts of the two field representatives and of coordination among the three major components of the Project: instructional, parent involvement, and psychological services.

Interestingly enough, as parents become more involved, school officials have become concerned about the objectives being pursued by the parents. There is some hope that the PAC should be primarily concerned with issues that are directly relevant to the implementation of the Follow Through activities and some uneasiness that they are likely to become involved in broader issues of a political nature. Thus, there is some discrepancy between the expectations of involved parents and of project staff and this discrepancy needs to be resolved.

3. The morale of the staff-teachers, teacher aides, and program assistants has improved considerably and they now feel much more confident in their ability to carry out their responsibilities. More importantly, they perceive both Bob Remson and Mrs. Brooks as being helpful in their support of the project activities. During the past year, they have become more convinced that the instructional component

is operating with reasonable effectiveness and they obtain considerable satisfaction from their classroom activities.

There are several ways in which the effectiveness of the instructional effort might be improved and these improvements in turn might be expected to have a desirable effect on staff morale. There continue to be some conflicts between teachers and teacher aides. Part of the difficulty is that teachers are uncertain about how to make use of the teacher aides; the easiest solution is to let teacher aides help but not to participate in decision-making or program planning. In addition, teachers are undoubtedly relatively inexperienced in working closely with another adult and there is little time available for planning outside of the classroom. Mrs. Brooks is aware of this difficulty and is attempting to include in the training program some emphasis on these problems of coordination and on human relations skills pertinent to the supervision of other adults.

Program assistants continue to express some dissatisfaction with the methods used for the recruitment of teachers. It is their perception that some teachers are reluctant to work with Follow Through and that some are unhappy about working with the Project. At any rate, program assistants often feel overworked and are uneasy about how to deal with teachers who do not "accept" the Sponsor's model and who may resent the activities of the program assistant. We should add that there is always the potential for conflict between a program assistant and the teachers she supervises. Often the program assistant is scarcely more experienced than some of the teachers and some teachers are likely to indicate that they know as much about the model as the program assistant does. We suspect that such a statement should not be taken at face-value. Rather, it is indicative of the complex human relations skills that a program assistant must have in establishing a viable working relationship between herself and the teachers she supervises.

Finally, as mentioned previously, program assistants and teachers are anxious to receive more specific instructional support from the Sponsor that is pertinent to the implementation of the Sponsor's instructional model.

4. Although relationships between Follow Through and the schools with which they work has improved, Bob Remson is hopeful that additional improvement will take place during the coming year. At present, there are project classrooms in six schools serving five-hundred and seventy-one (571) children and the four program assistant are assigned to these six schools with any one assistant being responsible for one or at most two schools. The distribution of classrooms among the six schools is given in Figure 3.7.

School	Hart	Paulsen	Brady	Locke	Drake	Kelvin
Classrooms	1 K		1 K	2 K	1 K	1 K
	1 1st	1 1st	1 1st	2 1st	2 1st	1 1st
	1 2nd	1 2nd	1 2nd	3 2nd	1 2nd	
			1 3rd	2 3rd	1 3rd	

Fig. 3.7. Distribution of Follow Through Classrooms among schools in Community B1 during 1970-71.

Three of these schools - Brady, Locke, and Drake - are inner city Schools and have the largest concentration of students. In general, students in these schools come from the immediate neighborhood and do not require busing. The Hart and Paulsen Schools are in middle class neighborhoods and 50% of the children in Follow Through classes require busing. In the sixth School, Kelvin, essentially all of the children require busing.

At present, acceptance of the Program by School principals is uneven, with some principals being strong supporters and others luke-warm to negative. This is a problem that is deserving of continuing attention.

There are two other problems concerning the relationships to Schools which will receive continuing attention. To some extent, program assistants feel that there are conflicting sets of requirements being imposed on them. On the one hand, they are responsible to Bob Remson and Mrs. Brooks who expect program assistants to be working primarily as trainers of the Follow Through teachers. On the other hand, in order to improve relationships with principals, they find themselves partly responsible to the principal or principals with whom they work. The principals often have different expectations about how program assistants should spend their time. Principals are more likely to want program assistants to become more involved with administrative activities; program assistants sometimes feel that they become too much involved with paper-work and not enough with planning and training. This conflict in responsibilities is quite understandable since the program assistants are the main link between Follow Through and the principals. On the positive side, program assistants have helped principals to realize that this is their Project and they have something to gain from its success. On the negative side, this division of responsibility represents one more complication to be dealt with by the program assistants.

Program assistants, as well as Bob Remson, are also sensitive to the perceptions of non-Follow Through teachers of the Follow Through Program. Since Follow Through classrooms are unstructured and operate differently from regular classrooms, there is a tendency for non-Follow Through teachers to assume that Follow Through children need more "discipline" and that they are "getting away" with something. There is also the assumption that Follow Through teachers are given special consideration. At any rate, there is need for additional communication between Follow Through and non-Follow Through teachers and for an attempt to encourage some form of participation in the project by non-Follow Through teachers.

Project Implementation in Community B2

In some respects, the history of Project B2 resembles that of A1, even though the two communities are quite different. In both cases, the initial decision to work with a particular Sponsor was reached only after considerable exploration had taken place. In both cases, the communities made use of general consultants who were quite knowledgeable about potential Sponsors. In Community B2, the Superintendent of Schools has been actively involved from the very beginning. This community is sometimes described as a university community and is a more middle class community than A1. At any rate, the community chose to work with Sponsor B and felt that their philosophy of education was more consistent with an open-classroom approach. During this initial stage of reaching a decision, there was more active participation by parents in Community A1 than there was in Community B2, although both communities emphasize the importance of parent involvement in the Follow Through Program.

These two communities also resemble one another as one reviews their efforts to implement a Follow Through Program. During the two year period, 1969-71, there were no changes in key personnel, although, in both cases, some changes are taking place during the year 1971-72. More importantly, both communities have been reasonably free of the difficulties that characterize the experience of Projects A2 and B1. They have made steady progress in implementing their project activities and are now in a position to assess what they have accomplished and to identify what still remains to be accomplished.

Let us now review in greater detail what has been accomplished in this community during the first two years of activity.

1. From the very beginning, there has been close collaboration between the Follow Through Project and the School System. Mrs. Miller is an experienced administrator as well as an experienced teacher. She had been successively an elementary school principal and Director of Head Start before she became the Follow Through Director for Community B2. In addition, she already had developed a good working relationship with Dr. Prentice and they continue to work closely together. It is our impression that, of the four school superintendents involved with these four communities, Dr. Prentice is the most knowledgeable about Follow Through. In the other three communities, the Follow Through Coordinator reports directly to an Assistant Superintendent. In this community, Mrs. Miller has direct contact both with Dr. Prentice as well as with Dr. Archer, the newly appointed Assistant Superintendent for Instructions.

Dr. Prentice has several views about elementary education which are pertinent to his interest in and support for Follow Through. He expresses the view that School Systems have been too centralized and that elementary school principals have had little influence on policy decisions. One of his objectives is to decentralize decision-making and to strengthen the position of the elementary school principal. He suggests that, in the past, the position of school principal was not very interesting and he hopes to make it a much more exciting responsibility. In addition, he indicates that there is a need for innovation in elementary education and sees Follow Through as a good example of an innovative program. Thus, his views are consistent with strong support for Follow Through, with an emphasis on Follow Through as having broad implications for the school system as a whole, and with a decentralized administration such that Follow Through should work closely with school principals in each of the schools in which it operates. Finally, he worries about the fact that the school system now takes part in a number of Federally-funded programs and that these programs are not coordinated with each other. He is concerned about the fragmentation of effort that often takes place and determined that these programs should complement each other as part of a coherent total effort.

Just as there has been a good working relationship between Follow Through and the school system there has also been a good working relationship between school system and Sponsor. At this point, our history is complicated by the fact that the Sponsor's Field Representative for the Instructional Component is also the Associate Director of this

Follow Through Project. Mrs. Brooks had taught in this School System and served as a Follow Through Program Assistant during 1969-70. Thus, she was already quite familiar with Sponsor B's model. In 1970-71, she agreed to serve as Field Representative for Sponsor B as well as the Project's Associate Director. In addition, when Community B1 experienced difficulties with their Field Representative, an arrangement was made to have Mrs. Brooks serve as instructional Field Representative for Community B1. She divided her time quite successfully among these three responsibilities during the year 1970-71 although she will not continue to do so in 1971-72.

Mrs. Miller and Mrs. Brooks work closely and effectively together. Mrs. Brooks has the main responsibility for working with the program assistants and is very effective in carrying out her responsibility for the local training program. In addition, she has had a good deal of experience in the teaching of reading. In this community, there is considerable emphasis placed on the acquisition of reading skills and Mrs. Brooks is able to give strong support to the program assistants in implementing this portion of the instructional program. Mrs. Miller also has considerable contact with program assistants, although her major responsibilities are for the administration of the project, for relationships with the **school system** and for implementation of the program of parent involvement.

2. The organization of the Follow Through Project Staff is summarized in Figure 3.8 and resembles the organization in Community B1. At the present time, there are Follow Through classes in four schools with one

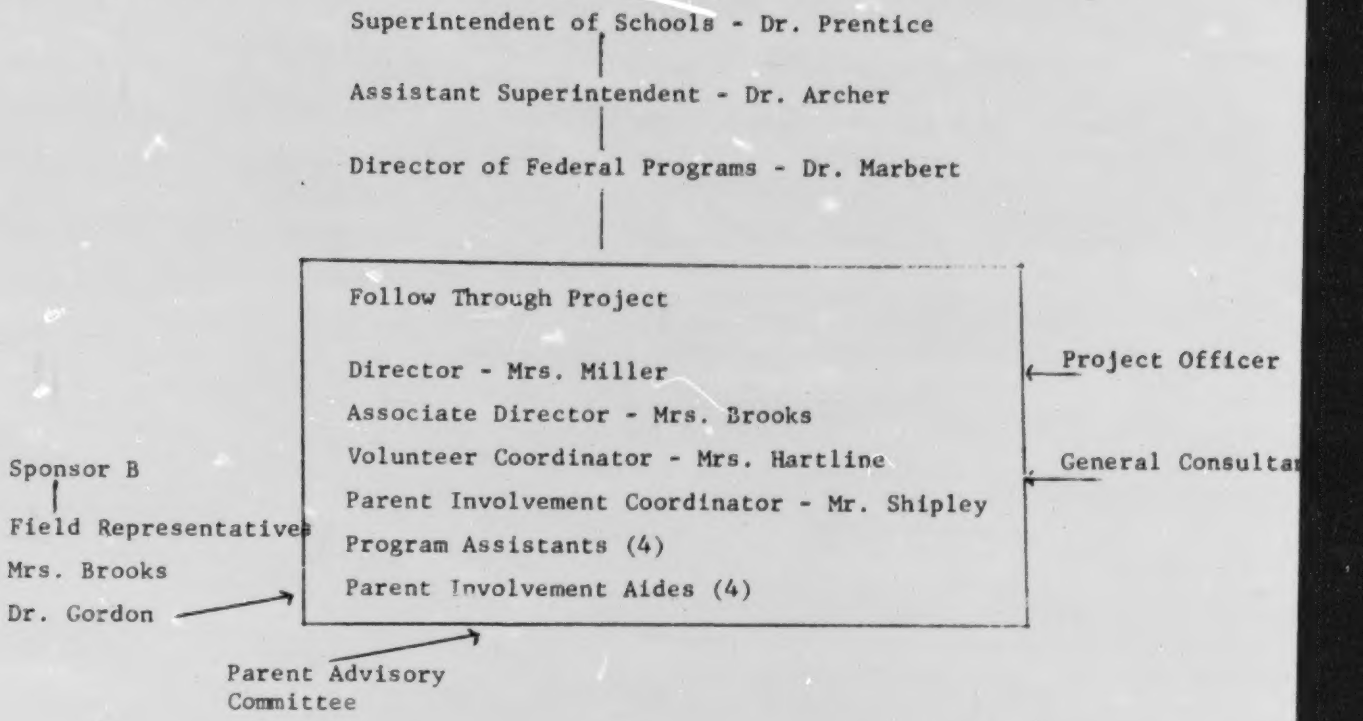
Superintendent of Schools - Dr. Prentice
Assistant Superintendent - Dr. Archer
Director of Federal Programs - Dr. Marbert
Follow Through Project
Director - Mrs. Miller
Associate Director - Mrs. Brooks
Volunteer Coordinator - Mrs. Hartline
Parent Involvement Coordinator - Mr. Shipley
Program Assistants (4)
Parent Involvement Aides (4)
Project Officer
General Consulta
Sponsor B
Field Representatives
Mrs. Brooks
Dr. Gordon
Parent Advisory Committee

Figure 3.8. Organization of the Follow Through Project in Community B2 during School year 1970-71.

program assistant per school. As in Community B1, each classroom is served by one teacher plus one teacher aide. There is one program assistant per school, responsible primarily for training and one parent involvement aide per school who is responsible for involving parents in classroom and other school related activities.

On the whole, program assistants and the teaching staff are pleased with the program and take satisfaction in the progress being made by children in the classrooms. Yet these staff members express certain dissatisfactions that remind one of similar dissatisfactions expressed in Community B1. Teachers find themselves working very hard and are uncertain about how best to make use of the teacher aides. Teachers also express a need for additional specification of the Sponsor's instructional program, particularly in the area of reading.

Program assistants tend to agree with the teaching staff, although they experience certain additional difficulties in carrying out their own responsibilities. Some of the program assistants find it difficult to work with certain teachers, particularly when the teacher is not in sympathy with the Sponsor's model. They wish that there were a better procedure for the selection of Follow Through teachers and teacher aides, although it may be an illusion to expect that a fool-proof selection procedure can be developed. In addition, program assistants feel that there are conflicting demands placed on them by the School principal, on the one hand, and Follow Through, on the other. On the whole, it seems clear that the program assistants must have highly developed human relations skills and that they are often more used to dealing with children than they are with adults. Program assistants also find themselves in an ambiguous relationship to teachers. They try to make it clear that the teacher is in charge of her classroom and that they are there to help and assist. But there is a tendency for teachers to view program assistants as supervisors, in spite of explicit statements to the contrary.

3. On the whole, good working relationships exist between Follow Through and the separate schools with which they collaborate. As one might expect, the four principals react quite differently to the Follow Through Project. At least one is quite impressed, two are either neutral or moderately impressed, while a fourth is somewhat negative. To the

best of our knowledge, Mrs. Miller and Dr. Prentice have been quite successful in seeing to it that Follow Through activities are not disruptive and that these activities are integrated into the functioning of each local school. However, it has been more difficult to convince all principals that the Project is innovative in important ways and that the Project has implications for educational change throughout the School System.

As a rule, neither principals nor non-Follow Through teachers in a given school are well-informed about what is happening in Follow Through classrooms and efforts to foster additional communications between Follow Through and non-Follow Through staff would appear to be desirable. Indeed, the four principals have only recently had an opportunity to take part in an in-service orientation program at University B. It is interesting to note that those individuals not directly involved with Follow Through sometimes develop rather negative impressions of the program. These impressions may, in some sense, be inaccurate but they are influential nevertheless. These negative impressions would include the following. There is the impression that "discipline" in Follow Through classrooms is lax and that the teachers are not really in "control." In part, this impression is based upon the fact that Follow Through classrooms are structured very differently than are the non-Follow Through classrooms. Let us note, however, that in this community, for any given school, all classrooms at a given grade level either operate as Follow Through or as non-Follow Through classrooms. Yet comparisons can still be made to other grade levels or to recollections of what classrooms were like before Follow Through. There is also the impression that Follow

Through classrooms do not place sufficient emphasis on "fundamentals", such as reading and mathematics. Again, this impression may be based on an awareness that Follow Through teachers and program assistants have noticed inadequacies in these areas. Finally, in one school in particular, both teachers as well as parents had the impression that Follow Through was primarily a program of "compensatory education" and therefore not appropriate for children who were not disadvantaged. In this particular school, teachers and parents evaluated the school as primarily middle class and therefore concluded that Follow Through did not belong in their school. This misinterpretation of Follow Through has been substantially corrected. Yet, since many in Community B2 think of themselves as "middle-class," there is some tendency to assume that Follow Through is not wholly appropriate for their **school system.** Finally, the difficulties in monitoring the effectiveness of classroom activities has been a handicap. Principals, as well as teachers and parents, are aware that expenditures per pupil in Follow Through classrooms exceed those in comparable non-Follow Through classrooms. Some individuals indicate that they want to see "results," to have some evidence that the effort is justified by what is being accomplished; this is a difficult issue to deal with and it seems unlikely that it will be resolved by provisions for assessment that will quantify the Follow Through accomplishments.

There is one additional issue that concerns the program assistants that was also an issue in Community B1. As a matter of policy, program assistants work very closely with their respective **school principals** and feel that the Principals place administrative demands on them that are not wholly appropriate. At any rate, they wish that they had more time to work with their classrooms; Mrs. Miller and Mrs. Brooks are in agreement with the program assistants.

There is one rather unusual characteristic to the Follow Through organization in Community B2 that deserves to be noticed. Mrs. Hartline is employed as a Volunteer Coordinator and her function is to recruit volunteers to assist in the Follow Through activities. She recruits adults as well as high school and college students who are willing to serve on an irregular basis and she has been very successful in obtaining a substantial number of volunteers. Some of these volunteers may assist with classroom activities. Others may help prepare materials, do baby-sitting for other adults associated with Follow Through, help take children on visits, etc. The services of the volunteers have been valuable and are in addition to the program of parent involvement.

4. Although the project staff has supported a program of parent involvement, they feel that the program has not developed as rapidly as would have been desirable. Indeed, a major effort to improve the effectiveness of this program is now underway. Let us consider some of the reasons why the program of parent involvement has not developed more rapidly. It seems clear that the instructional component of the Sponsor's program has been given the higher priority. During the past two years, primary attention has been given to the classroom activities and this is not surprising, granted the complexity of the Sponsor's instructional program. In addition, until recently there has been no single individual who has actively taken on the responsibility

for the development of such a program. Mrs. Miller and Mrs. Brooks had too many other responsibilities. Accordingly, a young man, Mr. Shipley, was appointed as Parent Involvement Coordinator, although he had other duties as well. A **Policy Advisory Committee** had been formed in 1969-70 and he was assigned to work with this committee in order to support its activities. Unfortunately, he had had little previous experience in the field of community organization. He had difficulty in working with parents and was unable to establish an effective working relationship with them. In addition, he had relatively little knowledge of Follow Through and was put on the defensive by questions that he was unable to answer. After over a year of effort, he continued to have ambivalent reactions to the Follow Through Project and asked to be reassigned to other duties in the School System. It is interesting to note that, even though he had no responsibility for the instructional activities, he did have to function as a spokesman and representative for the Follow Through staff in dealing with the PAC. Thus, the lack of any significant commitment to the total project proved to be a handicap and seriously impaired his effectiveness in dealing with parents.

There is one other individual who has been closely involved with the Parent Involvement component: Dr. Gordon, who served as the Sponsor's Field Representative for the Parent Involvement component. As one observes the activities of the two field representatives - one for the instructional and one for the parent involvement component - one notes that these two individuals function rather differently. The Field Representative for the Instructional component takes on a very active responsibility for the implementation of the program and for the training of relevant personnel;

the Field Representative for the Parent Involvement component functions more nearly as an observer, with little apparent commitment to the implementation of the program. At any rate, neither Mr. Shipley nor Dr. Gordon were very active in the implementation of the parent involvement component. Under these circumstances, it is not surprising that very little development took place.

During the second year, Mrs. Brooks, with the support of Mrs. Miller and the Project Officer, made an earnest attempt to revive the PAC and was moderately successful. The PAC met regularly during the past year. Some PAC members also indicate that some of the Follow Through staff tended to discourage questions from PAC members and that this had a negative effect in the development of PAC activities. We should note that teachers are not always used to working with parents, particularly when parents actively begin to raise questions about programs. Thus, time is required before effective working relationships can be developed that will facilitate an effective program of parent involvement. We should also note that Community B2 does make provision for Parent Involvement Aides, one assigned to each participating school, and that these aides are beginning to work very closely with parents and with the PAC activities.

During the summer of 1971, a number of changes were made in order to strengthen the program of parent involvement.[9] Mr. Shipley was replaced by Mr. Cheney, who will be the new coordinator for Parent Involvement. Mr. Cheney had previously been Associate Director of the Community Action Program (CAP) for Community B2. He has been a consistent critic of the lack of parent involvement in the past and can be expected to be very active in the development of a stronger program. In addition, the

---

[9] In addition, Mrs. Brooks resigned to take over other duties and has been replaced by Mr. Colby.

Follow Through Director has indicated that he wants greater coordination of effort between the two Field Representatives so that the separate components can begin to function as parts of an integrated total program. Finally, Dr. Gordon has been replaced by Dr. Hertz, who also works with Community B1. It is hoped that he will begin to take on a more active responsibility for the implementation of the program of parent involvement.

Again, it is interesting to draw some comparisons between the two major components - instructional and parent involvement. In the instructional component, the Field Representative functions primarily as a trainer of trainers, giving major support to the program assistants. In similar fashion, what should be the primary responsibility of the Field Representative for the Parent Involvement component? Mr. Shipley appears to have been uncertain about how he should answer this question but Mr. Cheney appears to have some definite views. In his opinion, there is a major need for the development of a training program that will support the expansion of the PAC activities. Thus, he sees parents as necessarily taking the leadership for running the PAC meetings, developing new activities, chairing groups, etc. and, on the whole, parents are not necessarily prepared for taking on these responsibilities.
Mr. Cheney is beginning to define his role as a trainer so as to expand the number of people in the PAC who can initiate and maintain an expanded program of activities.

In Community B2, there is one additional difficulty that concerns Mr. Cheney and other Follow Through staff members. As a university community, Follow Through parents are quite varied. Some are disadvantaged according to the usual definitions. Others are only temporarily disadvantaged by virtue of being college students at the present time. It is important that the PAC activities continue to be available to all parents. Moreover, the leadership of the PAC should not come to be dominated by one set of parents who may represent only one segment of parents; rather the leadership should be broadly representative of the variety of parents who participate in Follow Through.

Projects in Transition

In previous sections of this chapter, we have reviewed in some detail the development of these four projects over the period 1969-1971. We now want to bring up to date the experiences of these projects during the year 1971-72 and to give some consideration to the future as they begin the year 1972-73. In general, this was a period of relative stability for the instructional components and there was a consolidation of effort in all four projects. However, in some projects, significant changes were being introduced into the programs of parent involvement. What changes were of significance? In all four communities, there have been a number of changes in key personnel and there has been a process of internal adjustment in response to these changes. In addition, there have been a number of changes taking place in the Follow Through Branch and in the program as a whole, particularly as a consequence of the possible initiation of the five-year plan for long-range implementation. As a consequence, the projects have gone through a process of adaptation as the relationship between projects and the national program has been modified.

Project A1. During 1971-72, there was one significant addition to the Follow Through staff and two changes of some consequence that affected relationships between Follow Through and the school system. Note that the size of the project was still increasing as second grade classrooms were added in addition to kindergarten and the first grade. With this continuing increase in size, it became clear that Mrs. Fisher needed some assistance in order to manage effectively all of her responsibilities. Accordingly, Mrs. Hilton, an experienced and respected teacher with Follow Through, moved into the newly created position of Teacher Trainer. Mrs. Hilton began to take over more of the responsibilities for working with teachers, leaving Mrs. Fisher free to spend more time on the administration of the project.

Within the school district, one important change was that two school districts, one responsible for elementary schools and the other for the high schools, were consolidated into a single district. Partly as a consequence of this reorganization, Dr. Devine left and was replaced by Dr. Krushal (from another school district) as superintendent of the newly consolidated district. In addition, Mr. Murdoch asked to be relieved of his responsibilities for Follow Through and, indeed, became once again principal of an elementary school. His position as Coordinator of Federal Funds was taken by Dr. Olson, who was hired from outside of the school district.

After Mr. Murdoch had been active for several months as a principal, we had an opportunity to talk to him. He was quite specific in identifying some of the advantages and disadvantages to his former position with Follow Through. He had enjoyed the challenge of the demonstration project and took satisfaction from what had been accomplished. However, there were advantages to his new position of principal. Although he had taken only a small reduction in pay, he was under much less stress in his new position. The work load was lighter and more predictable. He had more time to spend with his family. Organizationally, his position as a principal was much less complex; he was no longer "in the middle." In short, it was somewhat of a relief to be free of his responsibilities to Follow Through.

Dr. Krushal continued to be supportive of Follow Through. Yet, as a new superintendent, Follow Through was not of high priority and he had to be more concerned with establishing himself and with the problems of organizing the newly combined school district. As one might expect, the reorganization had certain side effects for Follow Through and for the Holt School. Namely, two sets of procedures and central facilities were being combined into one and the Holt School had to adjust to these changes.

Dr. Olson continued to work very closely with Follow Through. His orientation differed somewhat from that of Mr. Murdoch's in two respects. He made a conscious effort to delegate more responsibility to Mrs. Fisher for the operation of Follow Through and to see to it that more decisions were being made by Mrs. Fisher in cooperation with Mrs. Armstrong and Mrs. Hazelton. In this respect, both he and Carl Holman were working themselves out of a job as they continued to encourage the transfer of responsibility to the Follow Through staff itself. On the other hand, Dr. Olson did become more actively involved with long-range planning for the future of the project. In this respect, he was responding to the evolution of the project itself. While Mr. Murdoch had been concerned with the establishment of the project, such an effort was no longer necessary. It was now much more important to develop plans for the project's future.

During this year, attempts to develop some long-range plans were undertaken. Interestingly enough, this was apparently the first time that any significant emphasis had been placed on the development of long-range plans. Two specific issues were discussed. One issue had to do with the cost per pupil of Follow Through and the problems of reducing that cost. Per pupil costs for children in Follow Through classrooms were substantially higher than for children in non-Follow Through classrooms. It seemed quite reasonable to assume that the school board would not be able to support an expansion of the program into other schools with local funds unless the cost per pupil could be significantly reduced. In addition, there was some concern about the future of the program in the Holt School if the present level of Federal support were to be significantly reduced. For political reasons, it appeared unlikely that the school board would be able to support one level of expenditure per pupil in the Holt School and a lower level in all other schools. With the help of Carl Holman and Sponsor A, a modified Follow Through plan was developed that would be economically more feasible, although the estimated per pupil costs were still in excess of average current expenditures throughout the district. One aspect of this plan was that the project would become substantially independent of the Sponsor and his staff, although the sponsor would still be available when specific issues might arise.

As a result of these planning meetings, some discussions were initiated with the principals of certain other schools in the district, particularly the two neighboring schools. These were the two schools that served neighborhoods of relatively low socio-economic status and whose level of accomplishment appeared to need some improvement. The principals of these neighboring schools were aware of Follow Through and somewhat knowledgeable about the project's accomplishments. Yet, there were some significant reservations expressed. There was an awareness that Follow Through was expensive and therefore that it was unrealistic to expect that it would be implemented in other schools. There was also some annoyance expressed over the amount of attention that was being given to Follow Through and to the Holt School. These principals had been working very hard to improve their own schools and felt that they had been quite successful. Yet, they were not receiving the attention or the credit that was being given to the Holt School. It was quite apparent that these principals were proud of the accomplishments made in their own schools and that they tended to see themselves as in competition with other principals. It was not surprising to note — although it was disturbing — that principals of non-Follow Through schools might feel that they were being placed at a disadvantage or that they were being treated somewhat unfairly. Thus, we became quite aware of an important obstacle to the possible expansion of Follow Through into other portions of this school system. The obstacle was in part that the Holt School had become somewhat isolated from other schools in the district such that other schools could easily become misinformed about what was happening in the project. More importantly, other schools did not necessarily feel that they were in any sense participants in this demonstration effort or that they had any stake in the accomplishments of the project: i.e., even though one refers to Follow Through as a demonstration, other schools in the system were not necessarily paying any attention to the demonstration.

At the time that the question of a possible reduction in Federal funds was first raised, the question was primarily academic; but, during the winter and spring, this question suddenly became a matter of the utmost seriousness. Shortly after the first of the year, projects had been notified that many of them would be visited by three-man review teams in order to assess their current operations. Not all projects were to be visited and the basis for inclusion was somewhat unclear, at least to the local projects. Also, the significance to be attached to these reviews was somewhat unclear. There were rumors that Follow Through's budget was being reduced and that some reduction in projects might be anticipated, but, again, there was no precise information available about this possibility. Accordingly, Project A1 was reviewed during a two-day period. On the whole, Project A1 felt confident about their future, primarily because of the data that were already being collected by Sponsor A. According to his data, this was one of his two best projects and, in his judgment, the project had every reason to feel pleased with their accomplishments. Nevertheless, late in March, the project was suddenly notified that their funds would be terminated at the end of June 1972. A news release stated that "... the Department of Health, Education and Welfare could not continue to fund the program for low-income children" and "that $9 million had been cut from the program nationally and as a consequence the ... program would have to go."

There was an immediate and angry reaction from Community A1 who were determined to protest and to attempt to reverse this decision. Accordingly, they were able to enlist strong support from their community, from their local Congressman, and from both Senators from their state. During this period, Project A1 found it very difficult to obtain any clear statement about why their project was being terminated. From Sponsor A, they learned that they were one of twenty-six projects being terminated and that they were one of only two projects working with Sponsor A that were included. Certain additional information made the situation all the more confusing. Sponsor A reaffirmed his judgment that Project A1 was one of his best projects, although the other project being terminated was, indeed, one of his weakest projects. In his judgment, the termination of the latter project was understandable but not that of Project A1. In addition, it was quite clear that Project A1 had not been evaluated on the basis of its instructional accomplishments, as measured by any of the assessment data that were currently available. For example, data on project accomplishment were not yet available from SRI and data collected by individual sponsors had not been utilized. However, there were indications from the Follow Through Branch that Project A1 did not have enrolled a sufficiently large percentage of children with experience in Head Start and that there were too many families being served that did not meet the low-income guidelines. The project appeared to be vulnerable when evaluated against these particular criteria. Discussions about the future of the project continued for several weeks and, finally, early in July, Community A1 was notified that their funds would be restored, although at a slightly reduced rate and, indeed, funding for most of the projects that were initially to be terminated was being restored.

This incident is indicative of a problem for Follow Through that is probably inevitable, namely that of project termination and with the change in relationships that it implies between Follow Through, the Sponsors, and the local projects. Alternatively, how can project termination be managed with a minimum of resentment and misunderstanding? We would suggest that there are several important factors to be considered.

1. At the time of termination, is it possible for a project to make a smooth transition from one form of support (Federal) to some other form of support (either local, state, or some other form of Federal support) so as to preserve those features of the project that are most worth preserving? In the case of Project A1, it was clearly not possible to make such a transition. As a result, it is not surprising that the staff found this to be a very disturbing experience. To be more specific, the issue of

termination had arisen rather abruptly so that the project had little opportunity for advance contingency planning. Of equal importance, the long-range plans being made by Follow Through itself were still in a state of flux. Thus, the Branch was not prepared to give any constructive advice to projects about methods of alternative funding.

2. At the time of termination, are the criteria for evaluation reasonably well known and does there exist some agreement that these criteria are fair and appropriate? Again, the project staff found it difficult to accept the original decision partly because they were quite confused about the criteria being employed and because they felt they were being treated unfairly. Yet, we want to make clear that we are not attempting to question the wisdom of the original decision. From Follow Through's point of view, it may have been quite reasonable and defensible. What is important is that the basis for these difficult decisions was not understood by local projects and, therefore, did not seem acceptable. In a sense, one would like to set up a "fair ball-game" with a known set of rules for playing the game and with Follow Through more or less in the role of an impartial referee. Under these circumstances, losing becomes depersonalized and a consequence of the rules. One can't blame the referee as long as he has enforced the rules competently and impartially.

This situation of project termination will certainly arise at some time in the very near future. Undoubtedly, some planning will be in order so that future terminations can be managed more smoothly and with less residual bitterness.

The project is now beginning its fourth year of operation and this year (1972-73), third grade classrooms have been added to the project. Thus, at the end of this year, the first cohort will have graduated from the project. As in the previous year, several personnel changes were made at the beginning of the year. Dr. Olson resigned to accept a position as school superintendent in another district and has been replaced by Dr. Hagerty. Mrs. Fisher resigned as Follow Through Coordinator and has been replaced by Mrs. Hilton, who had been working closely with Mrs. Fisher as teacher trainer. In addition, Mrs. Hazelton resigned and has been replaced by her assistant, Mrs. Marshall. Thus, in each of these cases, there has been promotion from within and one would anticipate a minimum of disruption as a result of these changes. There are two observations that we can make that are related to these changes. First of all, Mrs. Fisher and Mrs. Hazelton had been carrying a heavy burden of responsibility which was further complicated by the stressful period during which the project faced the possibility of termination. After three years, they were physically tired and pleased to have an opportunity to work in a more relaxed fashion. Secondly, there is reason to believe that Mrs. Hazelton's resignation is having more of an impact on the program of parent involvement than Mrs. Fisher's resignation is having on the instructional component. To a large extent, this is because the instructional procedures are well structured and well documented: as long as one follows the procedures, there will be continuity. But the program of parent involvement is less well structured and more influenced by the style of the parent coordinator plus her relationships to the community. Thus, it should not be surprising to observe that a change in the parent coordinator does have a significant influence on the program of parent involvement.

Project A2. During the year 1970-71, the effectiveness of the project had improved as compared to 1969-70. Project activities continued to stabilize during 1971-72 and there were several personnel changes of consequence during this period. However, these changes did not take place at the beginning of the year. For special reasons, they were scattered throughout the academic year. During the Winter, Mrs. Hart left for personal reasons and was replaced by Mrs. Dicey as Parent Coordinator. She had previously worked as a parent assistant but had not worked closely with Miss Doan or Mrs. Larkin. Also a new position of parent trainer was created, to be filled by Mrs. Hinshaw, who also had served as a parent assistant. At about the same time, Dave Lester had been replaced by Don Hawkins as the Sponsor's District Advisor. By this time, Lester had taken on some additional duties in working with Sponsor A and no longer had sufficient time available to work with the project. Hawkins had had considerable experience in working with other projects for Sponsor A. Then, Mr. Clark left in Spring 1972 in order to take another position in a different area of the country. He was replaced by Mr. Zimmer. One additional change took place in Summer 1972 when Mr. Joyce resigned as principal of the Lamson School, to be replaced by Mr. Kirby for the year 1972-73.

Over this period of a year, there were a number of developments that were of significance for the project.

1. There continued to be some dissatisfaction within the project over the relatively passive role played by Miss Doan in the administration of the project. Although Dave Lester and Don Hawkins felt there had been some improvement, this opinion was not shared by the principals or by some of the parents. More importantly, the general consultant to the project was rather critical of Miss Doan, suggesting that the success of the project was primarily a consequence of the efforts of Mrs. Larkin and Mrs. Hart.

2. Although it is still too early to notice major changes, Mr. Zimmer appears to be more actively involved with the project. As a result of his

more active interest, relationships between the project and the school system appear to have improved.

3. Partly as a result of the complaints of the principals over being ignored, as well as some of the other problems confronting the project, Dave Lester proposed the establishment of a Model Management Committee to serve as a coordinating device for the project and as a mechanism for undertaking some long-range planning for the future of the project. The committee includes Mr. Zimmer, the three principals, PAC representatives, plus all of the key members of the Follow Through staff. To some extent, the committee has been helpful in facilitating communications among the various components of the project. Yet, its functioning has also suffered because of continuing reservations by the principals about some of the features of the project as well as other disagreements that exist within the committee. Thus, the committee is still faced with the problem of establishing itself and proving its effectiveness.

4. There continues to be friction over the role of the parent assistants in the classrooms. This friction interferes somewhat with the effectiveness of the instructional component and there are secondary effects that are equally important. For example, some parents have been made to feel quite unwelcome when they have worked in the classroom, although there is great variation from one classroom to another as a function of the teachers involved. Closely related is the fact that some teachers, supported by the principals, have the opinion that it is unwise to delegate any significant responsibility to parent assistants because of their relative lack of education. A related point of contention is that parent assistants cannot be promoted to the position of teacher aide unless they have a high school diploma. This is apparently a consequence of a local ruling by the School

Board. Nevertheless, some experienced parent assistants are effectively working as teacher aides without the title and without the additional salary. In short, some parents have found their work as a classroom assistant to be very rewarding, while others are rather bitter about their experiences.

This problem of relationships between parent assistants and teachers is further complicated by the lack of time available for joint planning and team training. Thus, when teachers are operating under severe time pressures, it is quite natural for them to maintain rather close control over the classroom activities and to be reluctant to delegate sufficient responsibility to the other adults in the classroom.

5. Partly as a result of some parents being dissatisfied over their classroom experiences, there continues to be friction between the PAC, the principals, and the school system. This problem has been somewhat complicated by the replacement of Mrs. Hart by Mrs. Dicey. Two of the three principals have been quite open in stating that the PAC (made up of parents with "little education") was not qualified to participate in certain decisions that required the judgment of "professionals." Thus, the PAC is aware that there is resistance to their more extensive participation in the Follow Through planning. Mrs. Hart was well aware of this difficulty but, with a few exceptions, avoided open confrontations between herself and the school principals. Mrs. Dicey feels more strongly and is more likely to precipitate a confrontation over specific issues. There is one secondary consequence to this shift in tactics. Mrs. Hart, partly because of her more moderate approach, was able to work in close cooperation with Miss Doan and Mrs. Larkin. Thus, there was coordination between the instructional component and the program of parent involvement. Mrs. Dicey, with her more

militant approach, is more likely to find herself in disagreement with Miss Doan and Mrs. Larkin. As a consequence, coordination between these two project components has suffered somewhat. The parents continue to feel quite pleased with what is being accomplished by their children in the classrooms. Nevertheless, continuing attention will need to be given to this problem of relationships between the PAC and the rest of the Follow Through system.

6. Perhaps, because there continue to exist certain difficulties that impair the effectiveness of the project implementation, the project as yet has not been able to develop any long-range plans for the future of the project. Nor have they been able to consider how the project might begin to have some wider impact within the school system. Although the project staff were aware that Follow Through was attempting to terminate some projects, this project was not one of those that was evaluated. Thus, the whole issue of eventual project termination has not yet clearly arisen. However, Don Hawkins was aware of the difficulties in which Project A2 found itself and he, at least, is uneasy about what might happen during the current year.

Project B1. The year 1970-71 had been Bob Remson's first year as Follow Through Coordinator. During that period he had been preoccupied with three critical issues and had been successful in dealing with each of them. First, there had been the problem of establishing an effective working relationship with Sponsor B. This accomplishment was brought about when Miss Murray was replaced by Mrs. Brooks. Secondly, there was the problem of establishing more adequate relationships with the school system. This was accomplished largely as a result of Miss Bright having been replaced by Bob Remson and the rather different style with which he tends to operate. Finally, as a by-product of both of these changes, it had been possible to improve the effectiveness of the instructional component, to restore the morale of the project staff, and to stabilize the activities of the project.

During 1971-72, Remson continued to be concerned about the further stabilization of the project activities. He also gave additional attention to the program of parent involvement and to improving relationships with the cooperating schools. First, let us review those personnel changes that were of significance for the year 1971-72. At the end of the previous year, it had been announced that Mrs. Brooks would no longer serve as Field Representative for the instructional component. Bob Remson had met Mr. Colby, an experienced member of Sponsor B's staff, and requested that he be made available as Mrs. Brooks' replacement. Mr. Colby has many of the same strengths that are characteristic of Mrs. Brooks. He is quite experienced as a teacher, knowledgeable about the Sponsor's model, and quite willing to support the project's emphasis on the teaching of reading. Thus, there has been little disruption as a result of this change and Mr. Colby continued to work very effectively with the project staff.

A related change of some organizational significance was that the project became the responsibility of Mr. Wells, Director of Elementary Education, and no longer reported to the Director of Special Projects. This did not represent a change in the specific individual to whom Bob Remson reported since Mr. Wells had been Director of Special Projects and was now Director of Elementary Education. But the change did move the project more into the main stream of activities in the school system. Finally, Mrs. Shields was appointed as Parent Coordinator, a position that had not previously been filled. Mrs. Shields had once lived in Community B1 but not for several years. Essentially, she began her work as an outsider and this fact seemed to impose some limits on her effectiveness for much of the year.

Let us now review what was accomplished during this past year.

1. There continued to be improvement within the project's instructional component. This was largely a matter of the support that Mr. Colby was able to give to the program assistants who, in turn, were more able to be of help to the Follow Through teachers. Considerable attention was given to the development of curriculum materials, particularly in the area of reading, and to the specification of behavioral objectives.
2. Accomplishments in the area of parent participation were at best uneven, partly because there was some uncertainty about the objectives of this portion of the program and because of a lack of active direction for the development of the program. The one rather well defined activity was to train and support parents for participation in classroom activities. This was the responsibility of the parent coordinators who were assigned to work with specific schools and tended to work rather closely with the program assistants. Mrs. Shields had the responsibility for working with the PAC and for the involvement of parents in other activities outside of the classroom. As an outsider to the community, she had some difficulty in establishing effective working relationships with the PAC leadership and with the community as a whole. She also suffered somewhat from the fact that her responsibilities were not well defined and she was left to operate somewhat in isolation from the rest of the project. Bob Remson was primarily involved with the instructional component and appeared to have little time to give in support of the program of parent involvement. Mrs. Shields and Bob Remson did have some support from the sponsor through the efforts

of Dr. Hertz, who served as Field Representative for parent involvement. As we indicated earlier, Dr. Hertz tended to define his role as that of a consultant to the project: i.e. he was available for advice when asked. However, he did not feel that it was appropriate for him to exercise initiative in proposing activities or in the establishment of objectives.

The development of these activities was further complicated by the fact that some members of the school system were ambivalent about the consequences of developing a strong program of parent involvement. For example, there is a politically active Community Action Program in Community B1 which has some influence on the thinking of some members of the PAC. Some school officials hope that the PAC will not become involved in political activities. Bob Remson is aware of this potential conflict and apparently hopes that it will not develop. Similarly, the teaching staff is concerned lest the parents begin to have "too much" influence on classroom activities. They have mixed feelings about the fact that the PAC does participate in the hiring of the staff for parent involvement and are opposed to the possibility that they might participate in decisions about the instructional staff.

In March, 1972, Communities B1 and B2 joined forces in order to hold an in-service training conference for staff members of the two projects. As the agenda for the conference was developed, primary attention was given to the instructional component. Finally, somewhat as an afterthought, some attention was given to the inclusion of parents, the PAC's, and the program of parent involvement. On the whole, the conference was a success, but parents were not at all happy with the program. They felt excluded from those portions of the conference devoted to the instructional component. They also felt that the conference only paid lip-service to the inclusion of parent activities. Again, events at this conference are indicative of the fact that the program of parent involvement operates in isolation from the rest of the project, that it appears to be of low priority, and that it is not in a position to have much influence on the development of project activities.

Interestingly enough, this project had received some valuable assistance in the past from Mrs. Gregson, who served as general consultant to the project. She had worked with the PAC, Bob Remson, and the Parent Coordinators in helping to develop the program of parent involvement. She had not particularly been in contact with principals, teachers, or administrators of the school system, primarily for reasons beyond her control. As a result, she had not had an opportunity to influence the support being given to parent involvement by the school system. She was in attendance at the in-service training conference that took place in March and gave a talk on parent involvement, based in part on her experiences with other communities. Parents were somewhat disappointed to discover that Mrs. Gregson's remarks were given at a session that was attended only by parents. In many respects, her remarks would have been even more appropriate for teachers and other staff members in order to develop their understanding of the parent involvement activities.

3. There is one related development that took place in Spring 1972, to take effect for the year 1972-73. At the time that Sponsor B was negotiating his annual contract renewal for 1972-73, a decision was made by Follow Through to terminate the sponsor's activities in support of parent involvement. Primarily, this meant that Field Representatives (such as Dr. Hertz) for this component would no longer be supported for any of Sponsor B's project. However, support for parent involvement as part of the local

projects would continue. We have noted that these field representatives had never taken a very active role in the development of parent involvement. As a result, the initiative had gradually been taken over by the projects themselves. Thus, it is not surprising that the role of these field supervisors in support of parent involvement had remained undefined or that their services were viewed as expendable when contracts were being renegotiated.

4. Bob Remson has been able to develop very effective working relationships between the project and the school system but there are rather significant limitations within which he must operate. These limitations are of two kinds. First, there is no one in a responsible position within the school system who is particularly involved in the project's affairs; nor is there anyone who takes an active role in reviewing the project's accomplishments or in considering what implications it might have for the school system as a whole. Indeed, Bob Remson had indicated that the project would not be likely to continue in the absence of outside support. Undoubtedly, this lack of active support from key administrators has an effect on principals and teachers in that there is no particular incentive for their becoming too actively involved. A second limitation is that Bob Remson, himself, is not particularly in a position to take initiative on behalf of the project. Although he is extremely effective in his work for the project, one concludes that his job is to run the project so that there are few complications that have to be dealt with by his superiors. In this sense, it is not surprising that he is particularly effective in his support for the instructional component and is much less active in planning or giving support to the program of parent involvement.

5. Perhaps as a corollary of this particular set of relationships between

the project and the school system, little attention if any has been given to the development of any long-range plans for the future of the project. It functions fairly well as a demonstration project but it is difficult to predict that it will have any lasting impact on the remainder of the school system.

Beginning with 1972-73, there are two important personnel changes that are worth noting, although we are not yet in a position to assess the significance of these changes for the functioning of the project. Bob Remson has become principal of one of the elementary schools and is quite pleased about this promotion. In addition, Mr. Colby has received a different assignment within Sponsor B's organization and will no longer be available to work with the project.

Project B2. This project is the only one of the four under study in which the superintendent has been actively involved throughout the history of the project. The importance of this fact becomes particularly apparent as long-range issues begin to become of increasing importance.

During 1970-71, Mrs. Brooks had served as Field Representative for the two projects B1 and B2. When she resigned, she was replaced in both projects by Mr. Colby. As in Project B1, this change had little effect on the project as Mr. Colby began to work very effectively with the Project staff. There was also a change in the Follow Through Director. Mrs. Miller resigned to fill another position within the school system and was replaced by Dr. Marbert, who also has the title of Coordinator of Federal Funds. This change represented an attempt on the part of the school system to provide for better integration between the project and the school system and for better utilization of the variety of Federal funds that were available to the school system. Dr. Marbert had previously been coordinator of

Title I funds, was well respected within the school system, and a very appropriate choice for this position.

There were two other changes that affected the program of parent involvement and served to strengthen it. During 1970-71, Mr. Shipley had served as Parent Coordinator. He had never felt comfortable in the position and had been rather ineffective. When he resigned he was replaced by Mr. Cheney, who had previously served as Assistant Director of the local Community Action Program. He was one of several individuals who had been quite critical of the rather ineffective program of parent involvement. In hiring him into this position, there was the very clear expectation that he would play a much more active role in attempting to strengthen this program. Somewhat coincidentally, the Sponsor's Field Representative for Parent Involvement, Dr. Gordon, had resigned because he was about to leave University B. He was replaced by Dr. Hertz, who functioned in a similar capacity in Community B1.

There were a number of significant consequences to these changes in personnel.

1. The shift from Mrs. Miller to Dr. Marbert represented an awareness by the superintendent that certain problems facing the project had been solved and that some additional problems were deserving of greater attention. As a corollary, the job requirements for the Follow Through Director had evolved and it was appropriate to appoint someone with a rather different set of qualifications. Mrs. Miller had been very helpful in the implementation of the instructional component. As an experienced teacher and former principal, she was well equipped for the period during which emphasis was placed on the strengthening of these activities. The instructional component now functioned quite effectively and no longer needed to be the

major focus of attention of the Follow Through Director. On the other hand, the superintendent was concerned about improving the relationships between the project and the schools in which it operated. He was also concerned about the development of some long-range plans for the future of the project in relationship to the school system. In addition, the superintendent was of the opinion that schools did not take maximum advantage of the variety of Federal funds that were available to them. For example, in the past, little attempt had been made to develop some coordinated plans for the use of Title I as well as Follow Through funds. Thus, Dr. Marbert was selected in response to this shift in emphasis, as someone who would emphasize the development of long-range planning for the use of all Federal funds and who would emphasize the improved integration of the project into the functioning of the school system.

2. Similarly, the choice of Mr. Cheney as Parent Coordinator represented an attempt to place greater emphasis on parent involvement and to provide for more effective integration between the instructional component and parent involvement. In this respect, it is important to note that Dr. Prentice and Dr. Marbert were quite in sympathy with the objective of strengthening the parent involvement activities and with providing support for Mr. Cheney in his position as parent coordinator. Mr. Cheney has proved to be a wise choice. He is very active and energetic and has been quite successful in strengthening the PAC and other related activities. From the parents' point of view, there are a number of reasons why they feel more optimistic. First, there is the optimism of Mr. Cheney himself, in contrast to the rather passive outlook of Mr. Shipley during the previous year. Secondly, it has become obvious that Mr. Cheney is an appropriate channel of influence and communications between parents, the project staff,

and the school system: i.e. he has developed effective working relationships with Dr. Marbert, Mr. Colby, Dr. Prentice, and other key individuals. By way of contrast, in Community B1 Mrs. Shields was perceived as operating somewhat in isolation from the rest of the project and as not being in a position to influence either the project or the school system. Finally, there was the awareness that parent involvement had become an integrated part of the total project effort and that project planning took into account all of the major project components. For example, Mr. Cheney began to be included in the project planning and decision-making and was quite well informed about the project as a whole. Mrs. Shields was less likely to be included in project planning and less likely to be aware of what was happening with other project activities.

3. Mr. Cheney has taken some quite concrete steps in order to improve the parent involvement activities, particularly those taking place outside the classroom. In the past, there has been a single PAC representing parents in all of the Follow Through schools. Mr. Cheney has supported the development of mini-PAC's at each of the schools served by Follow Through, although all of the mini-PAC's are components of the original PAC. Also PAC meetings have been scheduled at different schools throughout the year, on a rotating basis. Thus, there is an attempt to build upon existing relationships among parents and on existing affiliations with individual schools. On the assumption that parents need some training in order to run meetings, develop activities, and exercise leadership, he has been attempting to make use of some adult education classes which would provide appropriate training and which would also focus on what parents can do at home in order to encourage and reinforce their children. Thus, Mr. Cheney sees himself very much in the position of a trainer who is attempting to

encourage parents to take over responsibility for the development of the program of parent involvement.

4. Partly as a consequence of the active support from Dr. Prentice and Dr. Marbert, teachers and principals seem to be quite accepting of the more active program of parent involvement and more open to influence from parents and community members. Parent involvement, as it affects schools and classrooms, cannot proceed without introducing some changes into the functioning of schools. And both teachers and principals have to accommodate to these changes. As long as there is active support from the school system as a whole, as symbolized by the support of the superintendent, these changes can take place without undue disruption. However, in the absence of this active support, teachers and principals appear to be very uncertain about how to respond and are more likely to resist the possibility of change.

5. Dr. Prentice continues to keep principals and other administrators informed about the Follow Through project and to keep them involved with long-range planning for the future of the project. In this respect, there is an open channel for communications between the project and the school system, including those principals whose schools do not contain Follow Through classrooms. There is also a continuing attempt being made to ensure that the school system as a whole has something to learn from the project as it continues to develop.

Summary

We will conclude with a brief summary of the current status of these four projects as well as some comments about the developmental sequences that have been characteristic of each of them.

1. All four projects have been reasonably successful with their implementation of the instructional components. However, the instructional component in Project A2 has suffered somewhat because of the continuing friction between

the project and those principals responsible for Follow Through classrooms. Teachers in the project are affected by this friction which, in turn, has effects on the team of adults who are responsible for the classroom activities.

2. Two of the projects (A1 and B2) have been reasonably successful in their development of a program of parent involvement, both within the schools as well as in outside activities. In Project A1, the support of the one relevant principal has been particularly important. In Project B2, there has been active support from the superintendant which, in turn, has led to support from the relevant principals.

The remaining two projects (A2 and B1) have experienced greater difficulty with parent involvement activities, partly because of uncertain support from the school system and from individual principals and partly because of some inability to define a set of objectives for these activities.

3. All four projects have become more concerned about the future, particularly because of some uncertainty about the future for the Follow Through program as a whole. Only one community (B2) has been particularly successful in the development of a mechanism for long-range planning that would include representation from the school system as well as the project. One other community (A2) has experimented with a mechanism for planning in the form of a model management committee but there are still a number of issues to be resolved before this committee will be able to function effectively.

As one reviews the success of these projects and their developmental histories, it is clear that success has been partly a function of the ability of the project staff to carry out a program of organizational development and to manage effectively a program of organizational change.

We are using the term "organizational development" to refer to the changes taking place within the project staff itself: to their ability to identify roles and functions that must be performed, to train individuals to carry out these functions, and to maintain staff morale. With the term "organizational change", we are referring to the fact that the project itself is part of a larger social system (the school system as well as the community). Similarly, the project staff is responsible for the establishment and maintenance of relationships to this larger social system and for the initiation of certain changes in the larger social system that are essential for project success.

Consider, for example, the instructional component with its emphasis on classroom activities. In all four projects reviewed, there is a team of adults under the supervision of a teacher that is responsible for classroom activities. The successful implementation of a sponsor's model is very substantially a function of the ability of this team to learn the sponsor's model. To some extent, the complexity of the sponsor's model has some effect on the ease with which teachers will learn it. Yet projects also provide support to these teams in the sense that certain individuals are responsible for the training of classroom personnel as well as providing them with emotional support.

In addition, there is a second level of support for which the sponsor and the sponsor's representative have responsibility. To be specific, we have pointed out that there are individuals on each project staff who function primarily as trainers. In turn, they are dependent on the sponsor's field representative who functions as a trainer of trainers and the trainer's success is influenced by the ability of the trainer of trainers to carry out his or her responsibilities.

There is one additional level of support that is of significance. The field representative is also in need of support from the sponsor's organization and this support may be in the form of curriculum materials, assistance in the development of a training program, assistance in the development of monitoring procedures, as well as emotional support. The ability of the sponsor's organization to provide for these forms of support can have important effects on the behavior of the field representative which will in turn have an important influence on the evolution of the local project activities. In short, the success of the instructional effort depends on the success with which certain primary activities in the classroom can be implemented. But there is a chain of supporting activities beginning with the training provided to the teaching staff and leading back through the field representative to the sponsor's organization which is essential for the successful implementation of the instructional component.

One can carry out a similar analysis of the parent involvement component. Again there are some primary activities focusing on the participation of parents in the school and classroom and on their participation in the PAC. As with the instructional component, there are also supporting activities that can influence the success of the parent involvement component. However, the emphasis on parent participation appears to have suffered for at least two reasons. First, there is some lack of clarity about the objectives of a program of parent involvement and therefore about those primary activities that one hopes to implement. Secondly, projects have only gradually been able to identify those secondary activities that are essential to the support of a program of parent involvement. For example, parent coordinators have often had little guidance in defining their own roles and some have been quite uncertain about the definition of their responsibilities. Similarly, it is only recently that sponsors as well as local projects have begun to recognize that parents need some form of training assistance if they are to take over a wider variety of responsibilities and that provisions for the development of training materials (a curriculum) are also important for the success of parent involvement. Thus, projects in many respects have been more successful with the implementation of the instructional rather than the parent involvement component. We would predict that considerable improvement can be anticipated in the future with the programs of parent involvement.

We have placed considerable emphasis on the first stage of project development, that of project initiation, and on the need for broad participation within a community in the initial decisions being made about a project. There would appear to be several reasons for this particular emphasis. During project initiation, a pattern of relationships between project, school, and community is first established which can have a significant effect on the ability of the project to function as a change agent. For example, in Community A2, relationships to a school principal and to the members of the school administration were established which have facilitated the implementation of the project. By way of contrast, in Community A2, principals were intially offended and their lack of cooperation has seriously hampered the evolution of the project.

Secondly, during project initiation certain initial perceptions are established which may either facilitate of impede the development of a project. Finally, during this initial stage, some preliminary mechanisms are established that provide for communications between the project and the school system. For example, in Communities A1 and B2, mechanisms were developed (and have continued to develop) which have led to a constructive pattern of problem-solving involving the project and the school system. In this fashion, changes have taken place which have been beneficial both for project as well as for school system. In Community A2 a rather different set of mechanisms began to develop which has impaired the effectiveness of the project and made it difficult for the project staff to act as change agents in their relationships with the school system.

We have noted also that the Follow Through assumption that the first year of project activities should be counted as an implementation year - during which it is premature to evaluate project effectiveness - appears to be a reasonable one. It takes at least a year before project activities begin to stabilize such that one can begin to evaluate the accomplishments of the instructional or parent involvement components. Similarly, it seems fair to conclude that the success of a sponsor in a particular community is only partially a function of his educational model. Successful implementation is also a function of administrative abilities in building a project organization and in facilitating the processes of organizational change.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE EVALUATION EFFORT

Introduction

The evaluation effort that we want to review has been undertaken by the Urban and Social Systems Division of the Stanford Research Institute under contract with the Follow Through Branch.[1] In many respects, the history of this effort is both stormy as well as controversial. The project has now passed through three major stages of development. Those associated with the evaluation effort first went through an initial "crash" period in which they were almost overwhelmed by the magnitude of the effort for which they were responsible as they became aware of their limited resources and of impending deadlines. This period was followed by one of considerable progress during which the administration and organization of the evaluation effort began to stabilize and the staff began to feel more optimistic. More recently, they have been confronted with a series of crises which have led to a significant reorganization. There is an important sense in which we feel that the evaluation effort should itself be viewed as an experimental attempt to organize the evaluation of a large-scale demonstration program.

---

[1] However, during the past year (1972-73), portions of this responsibility have been delegated to the Huron Institute and Abt Associates. A detailed examination of their efforts is beyond the scope of this report.

Thus, our purpose is to try to document what can be learned from this experiment and to reach certain conclusions that ought to be applicable to the design and administration of future evaluation efforts.

We need to warn a reader as he begins this chapter that we have found it necessary to simplify somewhat our description of the evaluation effort, particularly the summary of events over the past four years. Our purpose is not to write history but rather to examine what can be learned from these experiences. Accordingly, we have chosen to write at a level of detail that is most appropriate for this particular purpose. One final comment is that we have made no attempt to evaluate the technical competence of the evaluation. Such questions are beyond the scope of our study. Rather, we have emphasized the organization of the evaluation program, how that organization developed, and the complex interrelationships that existed between the evaluation effort and other parts of the Follow Through program.

Evaulation: Some Preliminary Considerations

The Urban and Social Systems Division of the Stanford Research Institute was actually formed some months after the initiation of the Follow Through contract with SRI. The proposal was in fact initiated by the Manpower, Education, and Behavioral Research Program of SRI. The original contract was signed in June, 1968. However, the initiation of this contract was preceded by certain events and influenced by certain considerations that ought to be identified at this time. More specifically, when SRI was first approached by Follow Through, there already existed a point of view about evaluation that influenced the decisions being made about evaluation and that led to the establishment of some expectations about what the evaluation effort ought to be able to accomplish.

There had developed a general climate of opinion that evaluation was indeed important and that the long run expansion of the program would be dependent upon an evaluation that would attest to the "success" of the program. It is interesting to note that this interest in evaluation is of relatively recent origin. For example, Campbell, in writing about "Reforms as Experiments" refers to everyone's good intentions about "continuing or discontinuing programs on the basis of proven effectiveness."[2] However, he also states that "It is a theme of this paper that this is not at all so, that most ameliorative programs end up with no interpretable evaluation----."[3] Most observers would agree with Campbell on this particular point. In addition, there was the general awareness, to which we have previously alluded, that not all attempted reforms are successful and that it is of extreme importance that one be able to evaluate the effectiveness of any given program. In fact, the necessity for program evaluation was written into the original legislation under which Follow Through is authorized.

The Follow Through evaluation was also influenced by two specific evaluation efforts, one which immediately preceded it and a second which was completed before the end of SRI's first year of activities. Both of these are indicative of the difficulties inherent in carrying out a successful evaluation. First, there is one evaluation effort that can rather clearly be described as a failure. During 1967-68, Follow Through had supported a set of projects that were unsponsored. In addition, an evaluation effort had been supported; however, the results of this effort have never been published. Although a final report was submitted, the Follow Through staff were not at all satisfied with it and felt that it should not be released. We have the impression that this study was flawed in many respects and that there was little to be learned from the data that had been obtained.

Some time later, a study was released by the Office of the Comptroller General of the United States,[4] entitled, "Need for Improving the Administration of Study and Evaluation Contracts." Their comments about this particular study are as follows and are quite pertinent:

---

[2] Campbell, D. "Reforms as Experiments," American Psychologist, 1969, 24, 410.

[3] Campbell, op. cit., p. 410.

[4] Comptroller General of the United States. Report to the Congress: Need for Improving the Administration of Study and Evaluation Contracts. August, 1971, pp. 44.

> "A Report produced under the $146,100 contract for the evaluation of project Follow Through was criticized by Office of Education officials, including the Director of the Follow Through Branch. These officials stated that the report lacked significant test data and that it did not accurately reflect the analyses that had been completed. They also considered it to be of limited usefulness because of significant changes in program emphasis during the contract period. For these reasons they felt that the report was misleading and that distributing it, without revision, would have been irresponsible. The Director of the Follow Through Branch, however, agreed to accept the report without revision because he felt that there was nothing to be gained from further negotiation with the contractor."

The second evaluation was begun in the summer of 1968 (at about the same time that the SRI contract was initiated). This is the Westinghouse-Ohio National Evaluation of Head Start, which appeared in 1969; a recent review of it points out that "The Report was immediately controversial."[5] More importantly, it has continued to be controversial and SRI has attempted to profit from the criticisms that were made of this evaluation.[6]

---

[5] M. S. Smith and Joan S. Bissell. Report analysis: The Impact of Head Start. Harvard Educational Review, 1970, 40, 51 - 104.

[6] The original report is Cicirelli, V. G., et al. The Impact of Head Start; An Evaluation of the Effects of Head Start on Children's Cognitive and Affective Development, the report of a study undertaken by Westinghouse Learning Corporation and Ohio University under contract B89-4536, Washington, D.C.: Office of Economic Opportunity, June 12, 1969. For a rebuttal to the criticisms of the report see Cicirelli, V. G., Evans, J. W., and J. Schiller. "A reply to the report analysis." Harvard Educational Review, 1970, 40, 105-126. For an insightful review of the controversy, see White, S. H. "The National Impact of Head Start." In J. Hellmuth, ed., Disadvantaged Child, Volume 3. Brunner/Mazel: New York, 1970, pp. 163-184.

For what reasons has the report been attacked? Some critics have raised technical questions about the adequacy of the report. These fall under two headings. There is the criticism that the focus of the evaluation was unreasonably and misleadingly narrow. More specifically, some critics would charge that the focus of the study was limited to the measurement of academic achievement and that insufficient attention was paid to the assessment of other cognitive, affective, and motivational changes: i.e., too narrow a range of accomplishments was being measured. Another set of criticisms has to do with statistical issues: the design of the study, sampling procedures, and the statistical interpretation of the data.

There is one other major criticism that has been leveled at the study. This has to do with the conclusions reached, namely, in implying that Head Start was perhaps a "failure" or at best a very limited success. Let us note that these two critical themes have a tendency to interact. There were many who wanted to believe that the program had been successful simply because it had to be successful. Given this orientation, one might easily want to conclude that perhaps it was the study that was flawed rather than the program. For our purposes, we have no need to take sides in the controversy. But this study had also been authorized by OEO which was now the source of funds for Follow Through. The conclusion to be drawn was that a second controversy ought to be avoided and that the Follow Through evaluation ought to be above reproach.

In short, the SRI effort has been influenced by two similar evaluation efforts, one of which was controversial while the other was quietly buried. It has also been affected by certain issues that could never be resolved within OEO and which were inherited in part by Follow Through. These issues arise between those who support reform as a moral imperative and those who propose a possible reform on an experimental basis, with final judgments to be based on an assessment of outcomes. However, let us note that these conflicts may take place within certain individuals who have sympathy for both points of view as well as between individuals who may support one position rather than the other.

In a sense, these conflicting philosophies of reform vs. research and development are another form of the conflict over Follow Through as a service program rather than as an experimental program to which we previously referred in Chapter Two. In what respects might an evaluation effort be influenced by these differing points of view? If one looks at Follow Through as a reform, then evaluation tends to become a necessary evil, designed to convince those who doubt rather than those who already believe. If one is committed to a service program as a reform, then one tends not to be neutral about the kind of outcome one is prepared to accept. Positive results confirm that the program has been implemented. Negative results are unexpected and may imply that those responsible for implementation should be blamed for lack of effort, competence, or motivation. However, as an experimental program, one may be willing to accept negative results as an indication that the reform was substantially in error and that other alternatives should be considered. Then, too, there are implied issues about who should control the evaluation. As an experiment, one may want to recommend that the evaluation be impartial and carried out by some separate and independent facility. As a reform, one is more likely to view evaluation as a service to the program and to be controlled by those who have a stake in its success.

Let us now return to the SRI evaluation effort and to an evolutionary review of its activities.

Project Initiation

During the Winter and Spring of 1968, the Follow Through Branch contacted several organizations in order to ask if they might want to submit proposals for the evaluation of the Follow Through Program. This request coincided with some recent decisions about Follow Through that had important implications for an evaluation effort. For example, the decision had been reached that Follow Through would emphasize planned variation in the form of a quasi-experimental effort. Secondly, sponsors were to be introduced as a primary agent of educational change: they were to be responsible for the "experiments." From an evaluation point of view the sponsors would become one of the most important independent variables. Finally, as we indicated previously, the services of the evaluation contractor for 1967-68 had been terminated.

Let us note that the change from a set of unsponsored projects in 1967-68 to a set of sponsored projects in 1968-69 meant that the complexity of a possible evaluation effort had been significantly increased; in return, the potential to be gained from the effort had also been increased. With unsponsored projects, it was neither particularly feasible to follow a philosophy of planned variation nor to think of evaluation as an experiment.

By early June, SRI, through what is now its Urban and Social Systems Division, was prepared to submit a proposal which was then reviewed in a series of meetings with Follow Through,[7] assisted by some outside consultants. During the same time period, similar proposals were submitted by other potential contractors. Finally, in June, 1968, the decision was made to accept the SRI proposal and a contract was signed, to take effect immediately.

---

[7] Dr. Richard Snyder, Chief of the Research Section for Follow Through, along with members of his staff, had the major responsibility for representing Follow Through in these negotiations. On occasion, representatives from OEO would be included, along with Dr. Robert Egbert, Follow Through Director.

The two key individuals in preparing this proposal were Philip H. Sorensen and William G. Madow and these two individuals subsequently functioned as director and associate director, respectively, of the study. Sorensen is an educational psychologist with a variety of relevant experiences. He had been working on an evaluation of a program of compensatory education in San Francisco and is particularly knowledgeable in the field of testing, measurements, and experimental design. Madow was trained as a mathematician and has specialized throughout his career in the area of mathematical statistics. He has had considerable experience with the interpretation of survey data through the U. S. Bureau of the Census, although he was somewhat new to the field of educational evaluation. Both individuals were senior members of the SRI staff at that time and were assisted by a small number of SRI colleagues in the preparation of the proposal.

Since that time, there has appeared some criticism of the decision to select SRI's evaluation proposal and we would like to include some examination to this process of choosing amongst alternative evaluation proposals. Let us first try to reconstruct as best we can how the decision was made.

The Follow Through staff first attempted to identify several organizations who were experienced in the field of educational evaluation. These were asked to submit proposals. Interestingly enough, there were no university-based organizations that actually responded, though some had been contacted initially.[8] In general, university-based organizations tend to be small, at least by comparison with SRI or other similar private organizations, and it was apparent that a rather large organization would be essential for this particular evaluation.

---

[8] However the unsuccessful 1967-68 evaluation had been carried out by a university-based contractor.

Secondly, the Follow Through Director has indicated that some proposals were eliminated for being faulty in two respects. First, the attempt to define and analyze what would be included in the evaluation was inadequate. Secondly, it was unclear who would be responsible for carrying out the program and which key individuals were willing and able to commit themselves to carrying out the evaluation. SRI was selected because they responded in some detail to the question of what they proposed to do and to the question of which individuals (Sorensen and Madow) would be responsible.

From our interviews with key staff members of Follow Through we can infer that the following set of criteria was employed in selecting an evaluation contractor. There had to be some indications that the contractor (or really the potential directors of the project) was competent in certain substantive areas and particularly in the fields of educational measurement and evaluation as well as statistical analysis and experimental design. In addition, it was clear that the contractor would have to assemble, train and coordinate a rather sizable staff that would operate on a nation-wide scale. Thus, the director would have to be competent in building, administering and maintaining a rather complex organization. What was perhaps less clear initially was that these same directors would have to be quite skillful in recognizing the interdependence of their activities with those of other Follow Through sub-systems. Only later did it become apparent that the problems of coordination and conflict resolution among sub-systems would become increasingly important. At any rate, SRI satisfied these criteria and its selection seemed to be a reasonable choice.

Having obtained the contract, SRI then moved into an initial phase of activity in which a number of issues had to be faced and some provisional decisions had to be made. This initial period had somewhat the character of a developmental period which came to an end in the Fall of 1969. By that time, SRI had accumulated enough experience to be able to evaluate its efforts and to introduce some important administrative and organizational changes. Let us now review the experience of July, 1968 to Fall, 1969, a period of a little over a year's duration.

After the contract was signed, Sorensen has indicated that he felt enormously elated and challenged. Madow also was quite excited about the problems of analysis and design that had to be solved. Sorensen has also indicated that, in developing a project organization, he often felt that they were "consistently behind," both qualitatively and quantitatively: i.e., there were too many decisions to be made and too much to be done, given the staff at hand and the pressures of time.

What were the problems that had to be faced during this period? They included the following:

1. It was important that the objectives of the evaluation effort be clarified. Of course, the objectives of the evaluation effort had to be consistent with and follow from the objectives for the total program. Here are two representative statements of objectives. The first dated December, 1969 related to the first year's activities. The second is dated March, 1970 and is part of a proposal for the evaluation activities of 1970-71.

> "The overall purpose of the evaluation is to assess the impact of Follow Through on pupils, parents, school personnel, members of the community, and the school as a social institution in those settings where Follow Through programs are initiated."

> "The ultimate purpose of the evaluation of Follow Through is to develop evidence to help guide policy decisions about the design and implementation of educational and social programs intended to ameliorate the impact of poverty and its concommitants."

In this same 1970-71 proposal are some additional statements that are pertinent.

> "The full sweep of Follow Through may be appreciated best if it is perceived not only as an experiment in early childhood education, but also as an effort to induce the social changes that will reinforce and amplify the educational efforts so that they may succeed and persist."

Finally,

> "In the analysis of Follow Through performance and effects, data must be obtained that relate to the levels of functioning and the changes in function of all parts of the system. These data must be sought not only for their own importance but also because it is essential to determine the impact of each part of the system on the development of the child and on the persistency of any gains made in the child's development."

One can infer from these statements a number of objectives that SRI would be expected to honor and, by so doing, would be committing itself to an extremely ambitious undertaking. There were also some specific expectations about the evaluation effort that had to be taken into account, some of which were made explicit in the original contract while others could only be inferred as a result of experience as part of the Follow Through program. For example, the initial contract made clear that SRI was responsible for the development of a program of evaluation rather than for carrying out an already existing design. Now, in some respects, one might want to take the position that the design should have been developed by Follow Through with SRI responsible only for carrying out the design. Yet the Follow Through program had evolved so rapidly over the preceding few months that there clearly had been neither time nor resources available for the development of such a design. More importantly, contracts with the sponsors were still being written at the same time that SRI was beginning its efforts. And the sponsors were as yet an unknown quantity. By that we mean to imply that Follow Through was not yet clear about the objectives and orientations of the sponsors and, indeed, it soon became clear that most sponsors were unable to give clear and precise statements about what they hoped to accomplish. Nevertheless, the sponsors, in some to-be-defined sense, represented a major "variable" even though one was not yet clear about the definition of this variable or any predicted relationships to some independent variables that would represent accomplishment.

There are two additional expectations that were less formally stated. One was that evaluation would be a "collaborative effort" in that the program as a whole would collaborate in the development of an evaluation design. This is an extremely ambiguous statement and we mean simply to imply that SRI might be expected to be responsive to the opinions of sponsors, projects, communities, parents, as well as the Follow Through staff. It is quite clear that, initially, SRI had very little idea about the possible consequences of such a collaborative effort. Finally, Dr. Snyder proposed that, during the first year, evaluations should emphasize service for the implementation of the local projects and that the first year should be considered as an exploratory year. The implications of this particular expectation will be discussed subsequently.

Taking all of these inputs into account, SRI was apparently expected to commit itself to all of the following objectives:

a. With respect to the assessment of change in children, SRI was prepared to assess changes that were non-cognitive and motivational as well as cognitive. In part, this breadth of focus was essential in order to avoid some of the criticisms that had been made of the Head Start Evaluation. In addition, a narrow focus would have been incompatible with the differences among sponsors, particularly with respect to what they hoped to accomplish. For example, there were some sponsors who were placing primary emphasis on the acquisition of cognitive skills. But there were other sponsors whose primary emphasis was on the development of favorable attitudes toward school, toward oneself as well as on learning to explore, to take initiative, etc. This latter group of sponsors was concerned lest SRI define change too narrowly, in ways that would place their efforts at a serious disadvantage. There were also sponsors who placed a major emphasis on the desirability of institutional change and who felt that these objectives should be included in the evaluation design.

b. The scope of the evaluation effort was broad in another respect. SRI was committed to the assessment of change in teachers, parents, and other key adults, as well as to the assessment of changes within pertinent institutions and local communities.

c. SRI was also committed to an assessment that could be described as "formative" as well as "summative." By formative, we mean that the data collected were to be useful to certain key participants for diagnostic purposes. For example, sponsors and subsequently local communities had the expectation that they would receive information that would help them to evaluate the effectiveness of their efforts so that they might take corrective action in order to improve their efforts. Indeed, Dr. Snyder's comments about priorities for the first year would imply that the formative evaulation should be primary during the first year's operation. By summative, we mean that there was also the expectation that the data would help Follow Through and

HEW to reach some conclusions about the effectiveness of the program and the data would be pertinent to decision-making about the long-run future of Follow Through.

Thus, by implication, SRI was committed to working within several time perspectives. There was a short-run perspective including at least the first year within which the data would be used within Follow Through in order to improve the effectiveness of the demonstration phase. There was a long-run perspective within which Follow Through itself would be evaluated by HEW, OEO, Congress etc. (i.e., by Follow Through's superiors) so that decisions could be made about possible expansion and refunding of the total program.

d. Finally, there was some commitment to the development of a theory that would make it possible to understand what the data "meant," i.e., to a causal interpretation of the data that were to become available. For example, summative evaluations are often criticized (and rightly so) because they limit themselves to measuring the accomplishments of a program. They provide little insight for understanding these accomplishments or for identifying those factors that have contributed to that particular level of accomplishment. Without an insightful interpretation, one has no basis for modifying a program in order to improve it or for adapting a program so that it might apply in a different set of circumstances. With an appropriate theory, one would be prepared to explain differences among sponsors; but one also ought to be pre-

> pared to explain for each sponsor differences from one project to another and to attach some significance to this variability among projects.

To some extent, this commitment to theory represented an attempt to improve on the Head Start Evaluation and to avoid some of the criticisms that had been made of this earlier effort. Indeed, such an understanding would be of great value for sponsors as they attempted to improve their models. It would also be of great value to Follow Through when it came time to make decisions about any large-scale implementation of the program.

Before continuing, it is important to note that it is misleading to say that SRI was responsible for the "evaluation" of Follow Through. It would be much more accurate to say that they were responsible for the "assessment" of Follow Through and for the collection and organization of data upon which an evaluation might be based. For example, by assessment we refer to the collection of data in a reasonably neutral way. By evaluation, we mean to imply that some decisions about modifications to be introduced into projects and sponsor programs or about the future of the total program would be made, based on data for the assessment and interpretation of outcomes. Clearly, SRI's role is limited to the collection of data; evaluation associated with decision-making is someone else's responsibility **(that of the Follow Through Branch).**

2. A second problem had to do with identifying the activities that would have to be carried out in order to accomplish the objectives, and in some respects, building an organization in order to carry out this set of activities. **After** discussions with Follow Through, an agreement had been reached that some pupil testing in forty-seven projects would be undertaken in the Fall of 1968 and that this would be the initial attempt to collect some data. Thus, SRI almost immediately committed itself to collecting data approximately four to five months after the initiation of the contract.

When we listed the objectives that were initially to be pursued, we gave no indication of relative priorities or of a rank-ordering of objectives according to relative importance. Indeed, we are unaware of any written statement of such a rank-ordering. Nevertheless, within a short period of time, objectives began to be rank-ordered implicitly as a consequence of the activities that were being carried out and the relative emphasis placed on each of these activities. There would appear to be two factors influencing the establishment of these implied priorities. First, there are the kinds of deadlines that one attaches to different activities with some tasks having rather immediate deadlines within which they must be completed while the completion of others can be postponed until some vague time in the future. Secondly, there is the question of whether or not a method of measurement already exists in the form of an "off-the-shelf" test or whether the method of measurement has to be constructed. Interestingly enough, the problem in meeting deadlines was made more complicated because copyright clearances had to be obtained in order to use certain existing tests while all data collection forms had to receive prior clearance from the Bureau of the Budget (now the Office of Management and Budget) before they could be administered in the field. Thus, the process of obtaining approval for each portion of the data collection was, in itself, moderately time-consuming.

Within less than three months after the initiation of the contract, the following activities had been identified and responsibility for each had been assigned. These included the following:

a) Overall project administration including responsibility for staff recruiting, coordination of the total effort, budget control, and maintenance of the central files.

   The two key project administrators (Sorensen and Madow) were also significantly involved in all of the other activities.

b) Liaison with sponsors. Note that during this period, SRI was not as yet familiar with the approaches of the sponsors and, indeed, most of the sponsors were still in the process of formulating and refining their programs. Thus, the sponsors were in some respects defining the substantive details of the "experiments" that were to be evaluated while SRI was simultaneously responsible for the choice of measurements and the experimental design. All senior staff members associated with the SRI effort were used in this liaison effort.

c) Developing plans for the assessment of school achievement. This included the specification of instruments to be used, a preliminary consideration of the field testing procedures that were to be followed, plus the responsibility for the variety of clearances that had to be obtained. Given the fact that testing was to start almost immediately, it is not surprising that this was a major activity in terms of staff commitment. Moreover, it soon became apparent that, for this first round of testing, there was insufficient time for the development of new methods of assessment: i.e., one had to make primary use of tests that were already in print. Thus, these testing procedures were primarily limited to the assessment of cognitive change and skill acquisition.

d) Plans for describing the program approaches being used in Follow Through (at the sponsor and project level) and for the accumulation of program cost data.

e) Data Processing and Experimental Design. Under this heading there were included the selection of experimental and control groups, and some consideration of the cost of data collection and processing. In addition, some consideration was given to the design of the format for a computerized data base and to computer methods for the processing of data once it had been accumulated.

f) A residual category providing for the assessment of parent, advisory committee, and staff attitudes toward all components of the Follow Through program.

There are a number of general observations that might be made about this period of activity.

a) There was a sense of crisis, of barely being able to manage, and of there being too much to do, given the limitation of time, among the staff. To some extent, this sense of working under pressure was a consequence of the inflexible deadline they had to meet in order to move into the field. One might ask what would have happened if this deadline had been relaxed. Since SRI was assessing change achieved during a school year, then it followed that their Fall battery of tests should be administered early in the school year and the Spring battery relatively late. Otherwise the assessment of change would be misleading. In addition, it is our impression that the amount of detail that had to be managed had been significantly underestimated. In principle, to assess school achievement would appear like a fairly straightforward task. Perhaps it is in the abstract but a successful implementation depends upon the mastering of an enormous amount of detail. Note also that sloppy procedures can not be tolerated. There had to be great concern with the quality control of the data collection; otherwise the data would be misleading and the evaluation effort a waste of time. Finally, SRI was not free to reach decisions on their own. They had to please Follow Through, OEO, as well as the sponsors and local projects. The magnitude of this responsibility for coordination with the rest of Follow Through appears also to have been underestimated and probably for understandable reasons.

b) Well-defined job definitions and a rather precise allocation of responsibility to individuals had not yet been accomplished. With only a little exaggeration, one might say that everyone on the staff was involved with everything.

c) For the first few months at least, much of the activity was directed toward the accomplishment of a single objective, the assessment of cognitive change. As we shall see, activities devoted to the pursuit of other objectives began to develop later during this first year of operations.

d) In retrospect, this emphasis on the assessment of cognitive change developed a kind of momentum that would be difficult to alter. Once having made a major commitment of resources to this objective, it was difficult to reallocate those resources.

e) For a variety of reasons, a pattern began to develop in which sponsors did not look to SRI as a source of formative information that could be used by sponsors in modifying and improving their programs. One source of difficulty had to do with the inability of sponsors to furnish SRI with precise statements of their objectives or with clear descriptions of their models. During the first year at least, sponsors were busy enough with their own problems and collaboration with SRI was of relatively low priority.

Nevertheless, sponsors continued to assume that they were not responsible for the collection of data for assessment of their own programs. In this respect, certain misunderstandings appear to have developed. Although Follow Through expected sponsors to take some responsibility for the formative evaluation of their own efforts, most sponsors assumed that SRI was responsible for all evaluations whether formative or summative.

3. A third problem had to do with staff recruitment both in order to carry out local activities as well as the field activities devoted to data collection. Much of the staff was recruited internally from within SRI. SRI is a rather large organization which is responsible for as many as 400-500 projects at any given time. At that time, the staff numbered about 2900, of whom about half were classified as professionals. Personnel are assigned to projects for the life of that project and move readily from project to project. The Urban and Social Systems Division is responsible for a number of projects, although Follow Through is currently the largest project for which it is responsible. Thus, some personnel were recruited from within the division or from other projects within SRI. It is our impression that this initial recruiting procedure (the channels through which possible staff could be identified) had a built-in bias that supported the commitment to certain objectives at the expense of other objectives. To be specific, it appears to have been relatively easy to recruit individuals who were knowledgeable about educational testing, experimental design, and computer-aided data processing. It was more difficult to

locate individuals who were knowledgeable about developmental psychology or about the study of institutional and organizational change.

To some extent, Sorensen and Madow were aware of this difficulty and attempted to compensate through the hiring of outside consultants whose skills would complement those of the full-time staff. Indeed, there are a few individuals who were technically employed as full-time consultants who functioned in all essential respects as regular members of the staff. However, Sorensen has also indicated that there are limits to what can be expected of a consultant, particularly those who worked on a part-time basis. After all, they can't be expected to supervise others and they can't really compensate for the lack of suitable full-time employees. It seems quite clear that consultants can and did made a valuable contribution in particular ways but that they could not fully compensate for the need to add to the full-time staff.

In addition, the recruitment of a suitable field staff was particularly difficult. At the outset of the project, the possibility of subcontracting the classroom measurements to some outside firm was considered and discarded. The advantage would have been that such a firm might have had available an existing and experienced field staff. The disadvantage is that this choice would have introduced another serious problem of coordination into a system already overloaded with problems of coordination. After weighing the advantages and disadvantages, the option of a major subcontractor for this function was discarded. It seems unlikely that sponsors and projects would have been any more satisfied with this particular alternative.

A second important decision about the field staff was that the classroom measurements would not be carried out by the local project staff - the classroom teachers. Rather, it would be carried out by an independent staff recruited locally on a part-time basis just for this purpose. Thus, the testing was entrusted to a staff that was unbiased and had no commitment to the success or failure of a particular project. Both Follow Through and OEO concurred in this decision. This procedure has been reasonably effective but it did add to the amount of recruiting that had to be done locally. A final key decision was that the supervision of the local testing would be entrusted to a field supervisor who would be recruited locally. This procedure did not work out as well as had been expected and was later modified.

Note that, even when testing was limited to forty-seven projects involving children in classrooms, the magnitude of the field effort was still impressive. Moreover, these issues about supervision are more important than may appear at first glance. The field supervisor was responsible for the quality of the data that was being collected and for the training of a sizable staff that was relatively inexperienced. For example, anyone who has ever been responsible for a sizable survey can attest to the feelings of frustration, annoyance, and panic that are experienced as forms are returned, some without identifying face sheet data, some incomplete, and some incorrectly completed. And whenever data have to be discarded, one in effect changes the sampling procedures and disrupts the experimental design. It is also important to note that during this first year more than half of the SRI budget of approximately $836,000 was allocated to the field staff.

By some miracle, SRI was ready to begin testing in October and November of 1968. A second round of testing was carried out successfully in the Spring and during this period the organizational structure we have just described remained more or less in effect. Elsewhere, we have referred to this initial stage of development as an experimental stage, leading eventually to a variety of organizational changes. Before describing these changes, let us review briefly some additional events that took place during 1968-69 as well as those experiences that began to indicate the need for change.

As we indicated before, during the crash period of the first few months, the emphasis was primarily on a single objective, to begin testing in the classroom, and this testing was limited primarily to the assessment of cognitive change. Testing in the Spring had a similar emphasis, although several non-cognitive measures were introduced at this time.

During this first year, planning did begin on the development of a parent interview, questionnaires for teachers and teacher aides, as well as a program of classroom observations. Thus, efforts were being made to broaden the scope of the assessment with the expectation that plans for a broader study could be completed in 1968-69 and that data collection associated with these plans would begin sometime during the year 1969-70. These additional activities led to the assignment of some new responsibilities that have organizational implications which we will review subsequently. These planning activities proceeded slowly for at least three reasons. There was a shortage of staff who might take on these additional responsibilities. More importantly, the purpose for each of these additional efforts was unclear and some difficult conceptual analysis and development had to be undertaken. For example, obviously one ought to be interviewing parents as well as teachers; but what did one want to learn from these interviews? Everyone could agree that the attitudes of parents and teachers had some influence on children and on classroom outcomes but it was much more difficult to agree on a model or theory about these influence processes or on a statement of hypotheses that were to be tested with the aid of these data. Similarly, it seemed obvious that one wanted to collect data relating to institutional change; again, it was conceptually very unclear what data should be collected and what hypotheses were to be tested with the aid of these data. In addition to these problems of conceptual clarification, there were the related problems of developing, pretesting, and refining a suitable set of instruments for the collection of data. And in these areas, there were no existing off-the-shelf instruments on which one could rely, although there were certainly relevant studies to which one could turn for suggestions.

Why should one worry about conceptual clarification before developing some methods of assessment? Why not just design an interview schedule and worry later about how the data will be utilized? Anyone who has had much experience in this type of research would suggest that measuring first and thinking later is a very dangerous practice for at least three reasons. Instruments that are constructed haphazardly are very hard to defend when reviewed by a colleague or a supervisor. They do not make sense and someone else can always think of a number of additional items that might also be included. They are also hard to administer in the field. After all, a field supervisor has to train interviewers who in turn have to obtain the cooperation of interviewees who in turn may well be suspicious of the whole procedure. It is hard to place very much faith in an instrument that is poorly constructed and it is hard to train or to interview when you have little faith in or comprehension of what you are doing. In addition, when one begins to think after the data are collected — i.e., to construct some hypotheses — it usually becomes apparent that you have included what you do not need and forgotten what you do. Finally, there are certain complications that become apparent only as you begin to process the data. The danger for projects like Follow Through is not that they will collect too little data but rather that they will find themselves overwhelmed with a volume of data that they cannot possibly handle. Then, the "message" becomes lost is a background of irrelevant noise."

Interestingly enough, there was one very practical reason that motivated the emphasis on the parent interviews. For purposes of analysis, it was extremely important to learn whether or not families included in Follow Through were indeed comparable with respect to income and other socioeconomic variables to families included in the control groups. There was reason to believe that they were not. Assuming comparability, one could rely on a simplified method of analysis. Assuming non-comparability, one could make compensations at the time of analysis as long as one had evaluated the direction and magnitude of the non-comparability. The parent interviews were to include some questions about family background and income in order to make possible some comparisons between families included in Follow Through vs. those included in the control groups.

During this first year, SRI also began to prepare a new proposal that had to be approved before a second year of financial support could be obtained. Legally, SRI is funded on a year-to-year basis with their efforts subject to annual review.[9] Moreover, their budget proposals only cover a year's activities and, at the end of this first year, no attempt was made by Follow Through to look for alternative contractors. The discussions between SRI and Follow Through were limited to questions about plans for the coming year and to the amount of funding that would be necessary. Actually, a formal proposal submitted by SRI was accepted in June, although it had to be substantially revised during the summer months because of certain criticisms that were made of the proposal. These will be discussed subsequently.

---

[9] However, annual renewals have often been funded as a modification to an existing proposal rather than as a new proposal.

Also, during this first year SRI was asked to submit a proposal for the evaluation of a limited set of Head Start projects, which were to be treated as a program of planned variation within the Head Start effort. They did, having first received approval from Follow Through. This proposal was accepted. Thus, by Fall, 1969, the effort led by Sorensen and Madow was responsible for the evaluation of the planned variation projects within Head Start as well as Follow Through. On paper at least there were valid reasons for wanting to coordinate these two evaluation efforts. After all, the two programs complemented each other.

Head Start children graduated into Follow Through and some of the hypotheses to be tested had to do with the carry-over from the Head Start experience (or its absence) into Follow Through. There were also expectations that a combined field testing effort for both projects could be undertaken which would be more efficient and more economical.

During this first year, there were a variety of experiences accumulated that could be interpreted as a feedback of information so that SRI could evaluate the effectiveness of its efforts as well as its organization. Some of these were internal to SRI while others were external. Here are some of the more important experiences.

Field experiences. Sorensen has indicated that performance in the field was adequate during this first year, although a number of difficulties became apparent. There was dissatisfaction with the decentralized method of field supervision that was being employed, using local and often part-time supervisors. With this arrangement, it was hard to maintain quality control over training and data collection or to provide for uniformity in data collection procedures among projects. Also coordination between supervisors and the

SRI staff located in Palo Alto proved to be more complex than had been anticipated and was difficult to carry out on a nation-wide basis. One quite unexpected problem rose in connection with the mechanics of paying the field staff. Normally, disbursements are made by a central financial office that is part of SRI and the system itself is computerized. In 1968-69, SRI installed a new computer and a new full-scale Management Information System and there was a transitional period during which all operations that made use of the computer were disrupted. As a result, Sorensen found himself faced with a threat of revolt on the part of the field staff unless they were paid. Some emergency methods of payment were developed and eventually this very aggravating problem was resolved. Again, this example is illustrative of the fact that Follow Through operations may be affected by changes in the practices and resources of existing organizations in ways that are difficult to anticipate.

A more serious problem of coordination had to do with the timing of the testing effort and with ensuring that the test materials would be available in the right place at the right time. This problem could be restated as one of developing collaborative working relationships between tester and testees, between SRI and the local project staff. Of course, SRI and local projects viewed these problems of coordination from quite different perspectives. SRI was discovering that the mechanics of scheduling and of furnishing projects with test materials were really quite complicated. Scheduling also depended upon first defining a control group and making a variety of sampling decisions at several levels of choice: which projects, which schools within a project, and which classrooms within a school would be tested. From their point-of-view, they were doing their best.
However, local projects as well as sponsors were also involved in their own crash effort at implementing their program. They, too, were being over-

whelmed with deadlines and with their own anxieties about carrying out their responsibilities. It was easy for them to infer that SRI was giving them insufficient warning, that the testing effort was not well administered, and that SRI was insufficiently sensitive to the difficulties under which local projects were operating. Thus, some project personnel began to view the testing effort as a nuisance and a waste of time. There is one additional complication that affected relationships between SRI and the local projects. There was an expectation that SRI would "give" as well as "take." Specifically, it was clear that SRI was responsible for the collection of data. There was also an expectation that SRI in return would make available processed data that would be helpful to projects and sponsors. In this early period, reporting back by SRI was clearly difficult: they were not well-equipped to carry out such a responsibility. For example, early in the 1969-70 project year, some information based on data collected in 1968-69 was made available to local projects. This feedback consisted primarily of uninterpreted descriptive tables and was apparently of only limited utility for local planning. Thus, the difficulties were partly in the form of the data made available and in the delay of over a year before it could be available. Fortunately, people tended to be reasonably tolerant of each other during this early period, although the expectation that SRI would be helpful at some time in the future continued to persist.

Internal experiences. Within the central SRI staff, there were several problems that began to emerge, not unlike the problems that were emerging within other subsystems such as sponsor organizations, project staffs as well as the Follow Through office itself. For example, the administrative overload on the Director and Associate Director had become obvious. They had substantive responsibilities for planning in their particular areas of specialization, but they were also administrators of a very complex operation. In addition, one could observe an oversight that we feel is typical of large research projects. There was very little time available for thinking, for reflecting upon the data being collected, or for the writing of reports. And these were additional responsibilities that were assigned to Sorensen, in particular, and Madow, both of whom were already overloaded.

The fact that the senior staff was overloaded led to some unfortunate consequences for the rest of the staff. Consider a working group assigned a particular responsibility. At various points in time, they would need to have certain products reviewed by their supervisors and it might be very difficult to find time to carry out this review. Thus, to subordinates, supervisors would begin to look like bottle-necks who were slowing down the decision-making process. Similarly, it was difficult to provide for proper coordination of effort among some of these work groups. Several groups had overlapping assignments in that their efforts were interdependent. Since the groups were overloaded, it was difficult for them to coordinate amongst themselves and it was difficult for the project administrators to find time for this coordination. Finally, some work teams had responsibilities that they were not well-equipped to handle. Sometimes, this was because the team was too small or because the problem was too difficult with respect to their capabilities. Under these circumstances, it is frustrating to find that you are unable to make progress. Also, when there was little supervision available to help redefine the problem or to make clear how difficult the problem was, then a team was likely to conclude that they were at fault rather than that the task was impossible or to want to blame the "system."

What we are trying to describe is a situation in which many individuals were overloaded. As a consequence, it was hard to provide for adequate supervision, to coordinate among the several activities that were underway, or to maintain staff morale at a level that would have been desirable. In spite of these difficulties, productivity continued at a surprisingly high level, partly because there was the expectation that this was a transitory phase and that the situation was bound to improve.

There were also several technical difficulties that began to emerge in the area of data processing. The SRI evaluation effort had available to it the services of a central computer facility that was operated by SRI. Not surprisingly, there were many difficulties encountered during this first year in making use of these facilities and the difficulties were compounded by the change in machines that took place during this year. However, most of these difficulties were gradually eliminated.

There is one additional internal difficulty that began to emerge at this time. As we have indicated, during the first few months, SRI found itself pursuing a limited set of objectives at the expense of a broader set of objectives. To be specific, a majority of the SRI staff were involved in some fashion with the program of classroom assessment that was successfully underway. Another group of staff members was assigned to planning activities associated with non-cognitive assessment and the study of institutional change. It follows also that there would be some differences in background when one contrasted these two groups. Those associated with the classroom testing effort were most likely to be knowledgeable in the areas of educational psychology, testing, or data processing and experimental design. Those associated with the second effort were more likely to be interested in sociology, social psychology, or perhaps developmental psychology. At any rate, the members of this secondary effort began to raise some policy questions about the lack of emphasis being placed on their activities.

Note that there was no real disagreement about the "facts," namely that most of the effort in the first year was being devoted to classroom testing; the disagreements were over the interpretation to be placed on these facts and over differing expectations about how rapidly one could develop a more balanced program of assessment. For example, the critics among the staff were inclined to accuse the senior administrators of being much too conservative and of not maintaining a proper emphasis on the assessment of non-cognitive and institutional change. Note that one can easily read into this kind of a disagreement a debate about the objectives of Follow Through as well as a debate about some controversial political issues and, indeed, some of this debate did take place within the SRI staff. Those who place primary emphasis on classroom testing can easily be accused of "giving in to the establishment" where the establishment refers to the existing school system and the political structure exsiting in a given community. Yet, they were often being limited by their estimation of the current "state of the art": of what was currently feasible. One can also get involved in questions about the community control of schools and of the relative importance of political action vs. educational reform.

Not surprisingly, those being criticized would sometimes respond defensively, although the senior administrators also attempted to find a constructive resolution to these conflicts. From their point-of-view, SRI was doing as well as could be expected, granting that the available budget for the first year was fixed and that staff resources were limited. In addition, the senior administrators were assuming that at some time in the future, Follow Through would have to justify itself to HEW, OEO, as well as Congress and that issues about cognitive change would continue to be of primary importance. What we are trying to point out is that the evaluation effort was also confronted with internal conflicts over political issues and that these were very difficult to resolve. To some extent, some of the SRI administrators were surprised to find themselves involved in such controversial issues. Yet similar controversies were taking place in universities as well as communities at the very same time. During this first year, these controversies remained unresolved.

Relationships with Sponsors and Follow Through. As SRI developed its plans for evaluation, it was also responsible for obtaining approval for these plans from the rest of the Follow Through organization. In this respect, one might ask to whom was SRI responsible. A legalistic answer might be that they were responsible to Dr. Snyder, Chief of the Research Section, who served as project officer for the contract

Yet SRI was also responsible, in fact, to sponsors and to local projects. On paper, at least, Snyder had the contractual authority to insist upon cooperation from sponsored projects with the evaluation effort. In fact, this authority was rarely exercised and no one expected that it would be. There was a clear expectation that SRI, sponsors, and projects would work collaboratively and that sponsors and projects would have opportunities to review the evaluation plans and to make suggestions. And realistically this was the only feasible method of operations. Note that many of the sponsors were from academic backgrounds and felt that they were at least as well qualified as were the SRI staff in the field of evaluation research.

During July, 1968, the SRI staff visited each of the sponsors in order to learn about their programs and objectives. These visits were relatively free of conflict, mainly because SRI was trying to learn from the sponsors and, as yet, had relatively little to say about the plans for evaluation. There were also periodic review sessions with Snyder and his staff in which plans for the 1968 testing were reviewed. Then, in August, 1968, a meeting was held in Menlo Park at which sponsors and Follow Through staff had an opportunity to review plans for the evaluation effort as they were beginning to develop.

Next, a rather important meeting took place in Atlanta, Georgia on October 10-12, 1968. This was a workshop convened by the Follow Through Branch for all participants who were associated with the Follow Through program, including sponsors, project representatives, SRI staff, as well as the general consultants who were advising the local projects. The purpose of the meeting was to provide for an exchange of information so that each participant could learn about the activities of other participants. Thus, sponsors had an opportunity to describe their programs and SRI gave a progress report on their own activities.

This turned out to be a reasonably stormy meeting at which certain issues were raised that have never been completely resolved. The more important issues had to do with community involvement and control and with the actual objectives of Follow Through. For example, some conference participants and particularly the general consultants felt that both sponsors and SRI had too narrow a view of Follow Through: that too much emphasis was being placed on educational objectives and on classroom activities with too little emphasis being placed on community involvement and institutional change. In addition, community representatives expressed the view that parents and the community should have much more control over the programs being implemented by sponsors or over the planning for the evaluation effort. Indeed, the criticisms were partially justified. In retrospect, it seems clear that some sponsors, as well as the SRI staff, were surprised at the emotional intensity with which these criticisms were made. They were also surprised to find that their efforts were being viewed with suspicion by some of the general consultants and community representatives. Yet, there certainly exists an ample body of literature which has been critical of compensatory education programs which do not also emphasize the need for institutional change. Similarly, representatives of minority groups have often been critical of programs which are planned for them, particularly when they have little to say about the purposes of the programs or how they are to be conducted.

There was one additional element of conflict that became apparent at this meeting. Individual sponsors were strongly committed to their own points of view and were capable of expressing strong reservations about competing points of view. Thus, the potential for conflict among sponsors was readily apparent.

Another important meeting was held in April, 1969 in Pajaro Dunes, California, attended by SRI staff, Follow Through, OEO representatives, sponsors plus some representation from local projects. SRI served as hosts for the meeting, the purpose of which was to review with all in attendance the SRI program and particularly their plans for the coming year. Although participants were often critical of the plans being developed, the SRI staff have indicated that they viewed the meeting as useful as well as constructive. At this meeting, sponsors and Follow Through staff were reinforcing each other by making similar criticisms of the SRI effort. The more important issues raised were as follows.

Dissatisfaction with certain aspects of the evaluation effort had been developing for some time. This meeting represented one of the first opportunities for people to express these dissatisfactions and to be supported by others at the same time. Some of the criticisms were technical in nature, about the tests that had been selected, about sampling issues, and about statistical procedures. But there was a deeper significance associated with these criticisms that helps to explain the emotional intensity with which they were expressed. Some sponsors viewed the evaluation effort as seriously biased in a particular direction and as being grossly unfair to certain sponsor approaches. Specifically, there was the impression that the cards were stacked, through the reliance on measures of cognitive change, for those sponsors that were behaviorally (i.e. cognitively) oriented and against all other sponsors. This issue had been building up for some time. Moreover, there were some judgments expressed that the criticisms had previously been made and that SRI was failing to respond to them. The sponsors were reasonably unified on this issue. One might have expected the behaviorists — the favored sponsors — to rise to the defense of SRI, but that was certainly not the case. A related issue had to do with the lack of progress that had been made by SRI in developing a program of community studies as well as an evaluation of institutional change. In this instance, there was the fear that SRI was seriously distorting the purposes of Follow Through by limiting its scope to that of just another educational program. This issue rather closely resembles the similar issue that had already arisen within the SRI staff, itself. In a sense, individuals were suggesting that a program is limited to what is being measured and evaluated, in spite of what is actually being accomplished. To the extent that one focuses on outside agencies and perhaps the general public, this fear is not an unreasonable one. One is suggesting that those outside of the program are unlikely to have any direct experience with local projects; they will learn about it only through an examination of the evaluation reports. Thus, the evaluation effort could be viewed as a filter through which a distorted image of Follow Through would be communicated and that it is that image which would eventually survive.

Sorensen has indicated that this meeting as well as the earlier Atlanta meeting was somewhat of a revelation to him. Although he had been aware of the emphasis placed on institutional change, he had not been sufficiently aware of the importance being placed on it and of the emotional intensity associated with the issue. Again, as we mentioned earlier within the SRI staff, this was an issue with political overtones, having to do with one's orientation to the need for social reform as well as on strategies for achieving it.

As conclusions to this meeting, sponsors agreed to take on certain assignments, particularly to provide SRI with information and suggestions that would be helpful as SRI began the modify its plans. In addition, the SRI staff was expected to be responsive to the variety of criticisms that had been expressed. There was really no disagreement about their validity. The problem was primarily one of how to reallocate resources and of finding time and staff to develop an appropriate set of plans. When these meetings concluded, there was the expectation that SRI would develop a revised program; Follow Through would be responsible for monitoring the development of plans until such time as another review with sponsors and projects could be scheduled. It is important to note that major changes in the evaluation effort could not be made without changes in the contract covering the evaluation effort and possibly without additional funds. To be specific, the budget that had been approved was reasonably specific about the activities to be undertaken by SRI and the amount of money to be allocated to each. Reallocations of funds in order to strengthen one or more activities were certainly possible, but not without contract changes to be approved by Follow Through, HEW, as well as OEO.

A follow-up meeting, held in Palo Alto, was held three months after the Pajaro Dunes meeting, in July, 1969. At this meeting, sponsors and projects were again represented. Some outside consultants were also present, some of whom were acknowledged "experts" in the appropriate substantive fields.

As before, SRI was responsible for the meeting, although there was close collaboration with Follow Through. SRI reviewed some changes in plans and the issues discussed were primarily ones that had been raised at the two previous meetings. This meeting was also stormy and participants, including the SRI staff, left with some feelings of disappointment and discouragement. In part, there was discouragement because similar issues continued to be raised at each successive meeting and it seemed to be difficult to make progress in resolving these issues.

At this meeting, there were present several new sponsors who had not been associated with Follow Through in 1968-69 but who were about to begin working with projects. Their presence had a somewhat complicating effect. Certain background information had to be reviewed for their benefit and they wished to raise certain issues that had been discussed at earlier meetings. Some of the more important issues discussed were as follows:

1. There was still an expression of opinion that SRI was moving too slowly in developing a parent interview schedule, non-cognitive measures, teacher interview schedules, and methods for observing classrooms. These criticisms were somewhat tempered by the awareness that only three months had elapsed since the last meeting and that one could expect only limited progress during such a brief period. Some of the outside consultants participated in this discussion and they were not wholly in agreement about what should be expected of SRI. Some consultants agreed with Follow Through and the sponsors on the idea that SRI ought to be able to develop an appropriate set of measuring instruments. However, there were the "hard-headed realists" who kept insisting that the difficulties of doing research in these areas were being seriously underestimated. Primarily, these consultants were suggesting that very little was known about these areas of study. Note that the difficulties they were alluding to were primarily conceptual, pertaining to the development of a framework within which measurements could be made. The implication was that, even if SRI were to be replaced by someone else, there would still be a low probability of success for this particular area of study.

2. There was a good deal of time spent on the importance of a program of research on community and institutional change, even though it was difficult

to agree on exactly what should be included in this program. By this time, this program effort was referred to by SRI as their program of community studies. As at the previous meetings, there was considerable conflict expressed during this portion of the discussion. SRI had underway a set of six case studies, and a progress report about these studies had been included as part of the SRI presentation. Note that the research methods appropriate to this area of effort differed substantially from the methods appropriate to all other portions of the evaluation effort. By and large, SRI was sampling from a population of projects. The idea of a sampling procedure was almost meaningless and it made no sense to talk about control groups or complex statistical procedures. In short, the community studies were much more clinical or impressionistic in approach than were other studies included in the program. Thus, there were certainly sponsors as well as consultants who were quite skeptical that these community studies could be considered as an experiment or even that one could be expected to reach conclusions of general interest based on such a qualitatively oriented, case study approach.

Nevertheless, SRI was again urged to devote more of its resources to this program of community studies. As we indicated before, there was a split within the SRI staff over the importance of supporting this effort and, for the first time, the existence of this split was brought out into the open in the meetings and discussed quite explicitly. Not surprisingly, there was some tendency for the spectators (those not part of the SRI staff) to take sides in this dispute. Again, as with the discussions within the staff, issues were raised that were essentially political and philosophical in nature, concerning the nature of reform itself as well as the ultimate objectives of Follow Through.

One related issue had to do with the question of who should control the evaluation effort and particularly the extent to which parents and the communities themselves should control the effort. There were at least two reasons for raising this question. On the one hand, an expectation had been established that SRI would be making information available to sponsors and projects that they would find useful and pertinent to the improvement of their programs. Indeed, SRI had indicated that participants in Follow Through were welcome to visit Palo Alto and to examine the data that pertained to their efforts. But the data were not particularly organized so as to be helpful to project staffs. In a sense, SRI was being asked to be responsive to three different sets of interests: those of Follow Through with its need for a summative evaluation of the program as well as those interests of sponsors and projects. And gradually participants were beginning to realize that SRI could not be equally responsive to each of these interests. Moreover, it was quite frustrating for some sponsors and projects as they came to realize that "he who pays the piper calls the tune." Although the conclusion was never verbalized in so many words, it was very clear that the needs of Follow Through for an overall program evaluation came first.

Some sponsors (as well as their projects) were not disturbed by this realization that they could not rely on SRI to furnish them with assessment data. These sponsors had already recognized what was inevitable and were beginning to collect their own assessment data and in a sense to carry out their own programs of evaluation. Parenthetically, it should be noted that provisions for research and evaluation could be included in the budget proposals being made by sponsors and projects. In other words, they could obtain financial support from Follow Through to carry out their own assessments.

There was another reason for raising this question about community control of the evaluation effort. There were some who would take the position that a program of community studies (as well as any evaluation) ought to become involved with the community effort and that it was unethical to remain disengaged or uninvolved. This is an issue that has been raised in recent years within the scientific community and has never been resolved. Along these lines, the following quotation is indicative of the fact that many of the SRI staff felt that it was dangerous to become too closely involved with local project efforts.

"Those involved in case and community studies also must have fairly close relations with those participating in the program locally. It's inevitable that they will be asked questions regarding the purposes of the evaluation and the uses to which information will be put. This close relationship highlights a hazard of the method. Those who give information locally may well request judgment or feedback from SRI staff in return for providing information. Unless local persons can see benefits from their involvement, maintaining their cooperation may be difficult. On the other hand, if feedback and judgment are given then the evaluators become part of the project itself and therefore disqualify themselves as evaluators. Nevertheless, persons involved in case and community studies inevitably become aware of any program defects, or of any uneasy relationships, between the program and sponsor, or between the sponsor or the program and the community or the school administration. If SRI staff suggest changes to local informants or comment on apparent problems and causes to the local community or sponsor, they may be functioning in the service of USOE/Follow Through, but they clearly would not be functioning in the service of the evaluation."[10]

---

[10] Stanford Research Institute. Longitudinal Evaluation of the National Follow Through Program, 1970-71: Part I. Technical Proposal, March, 1970, pp. 36-37.

At any rate, there were those within the SRI staff, supported by other participants, who felt that the evaluation effort should remain neutral or disengaged. There were also SRI staff members, particularly those associated with the program of community studies, who felt that it was unethical and unscientific not to become engaged and this point of view received strong support from some of the participants at this meeting. However, the issue remained charged with emotion and unresolved. Yet a tentative commitment was made by SRI, seconded by Follow Through, that additional resources would be committed to the program of community studies.

3. There was one additional issue that was discussed that made a number of participants at this meeting quite anxious. As at previous meetings, participants wanted an assurance that they would neither be judged prematurely nor unfairly. And there was the opinion that an evaluation effort narrowly limited in scope to conventional cognitive measures would be both unfortunate and unfair. As a result of this meeting, there was some encouragement that SRI was expanding the scope of its evaluation effort and that the results would take effect during the coming year. Sponsors, in particular, were attempting to maintain an atmosphere within which they could safely cooperate. Moreover, they wanted to maintain an atmosphere in which they could explore program alternatives and be genuinely innovative. If judgments of sponsors were to be based primarily on cognitive measures — reading, writing, and arithmetic, then there was the likelihood that sponsors would be afraid to be innovative; they would be more likely to play the game safely and to orient their programs so that children would show up well on the tests that were being utilized.

That there was considerable emotional intensity associated with this issue should not have been surprising. After all, there was the awareness

that at some point
in time there would come a day of reckoning when some vague set of outsiders would sit in judgment over sponsors and projects; some sponsors and projects would continue to be supported while others would quietly be abandoned. Moreover, it seemed quite clear that these judges would rely primarily on what was contained in the reports coming out of the evaluation effort. We would also like to emphasize that much of the anxiety associated with this process of judging had to do with uncertainties about the identity of these judges as well as the criteria that they might be expected to employ. One could anticipate with some certainty that the Director of Follow Through would have some influence on these decisions but who else might be involved? Not unrealistically, one could speculate about possible influences within HEW and OEO, Congress, and even the President's views about compensatory education and social reform.

Egbert and Snyder were very sensitive to the anxieties being expressed about how judgments would eventually be made about continuance or discontinuance from the program. Indeed, a set of policies was eventually formulated that was designed to minimize these anxieties. For example, the position was taken that no evaluation of sponsors would take place until after at least one cohort had completed a sponsors program, i.e. from kindergarten through the third grade. Thus, sponsors would be protected from a premature evaluation based only on one or two years of effort. Similarly, assurances were given that no judgments would be made based upon the first year of operation for any sponsor or project. There was general agreement that the first year was often a difficult one and that some sponsors needed more time than others in order to bring their programs to some stable level of operation. There was also an agreement that neither sponsors nor projects would be identified by name in the preliminary reports to be released by SRI based upon the first two or three years of operation. In this way, Follow Through hoped to protect sponsors and projects from the premature evaluation that might be made by outsiders to whom these reports would necessarily become available.

Some of the more cynical and worldly-wise sponsors had reservations about the likelihood that these particular agreements would be followed. It was quite clear that they believed that the Follow Through staff was supporting these policy statements in good faith and intended to honor them. However, they were skeptical that Follow Through would be able to retain control of the judgments being made, based on the SRI data. In their opinion, those individuals and agencies to whom Follow Through was responsible were likely to base their judgments almost solely on the cognitive measures that were being collected. These pessimistic opinions had the effect of an unwelcome guest at a wedding or of news of a disaster during a joyous celebration. It is important to note that there was some basis in fact for this pessimistic outlook. Indeed, Egbert was well aware that there were observers of Follow Through who were asking questions about results and their definition of acceptable results was limited to reading, writing, and arithmetic. Nevertheless, no one was in a very good position to predict how the evaluations would be used. Sponsors simply were forced to live with these particular anxieties.

This meeting ended inconclusively. There was still the expectation that SRI would improve and it was clear that Follow Through would continue to work with SRI in order to ensure that these improvements would be made during the coming year.

Consolidation and Reorganization

In November, 1969, approximately sixteen months after the initiation of the evaluation effort, Sorensen and Madow issued an internal memorandum to the Follow Through and Head Start evaluation staffs with the subject "Changes in the Formal and Functional Organization of the Projects." The first paragraph is as follows and is indicative of the mood of reorientation.

"The size, complexity, and pace of the combined Follow Through and Head Start evaluation projects are such that it's difficult to find time for sober study of how well we're meeting the responsibilities we've accepted. All of us have experienced occasions when surviving a day felt like a victory. If effort and dedication were enough to guarantee a joint achievement of which we all could be proud, there would be little reason for concern about the future of the projects; dedication we have and effort we give, but we'd all agree that we also have problems. The organizational changes described in this memorandum are intended to ameliorate some of these problems and sharpen our awareness of others so that we can more constructively seek solutions to them."[11]

The rest of the memorandum described a variety of changes that were to go into effect and a new organization chart, indicating a division of responsibilities, was included. Although this memorandum is indicative of some major changes taking place, it was preceded by a transitional period, beginning in August and September, 1969, which had prepared the way for this second stage, devoted to consolidation and reorganization. Moreover, the decisions made in November were but the first of a series of decisions about reorganization which were to take place during the next twenty months.

Before proceeding to a discussion of events, let us first review what we mean by a "stage of development" and the general circumstances under which an organization is likely to complete one stage and to begin another. Within a stage of development, an organization (or subsystem) may be said to be in a "steady state" in that the pattern of activities being undertaken and the assignment of roles and responsibilities remain essentially unchanged; during this period, relationships within the system as well as between the system and other subsystems with whom it must interact will also remain constant. Another stage of development can be identified as soon as major changes take place in any of the above and the organization begins to be characterized by a new steady state.

---

[11] Sorensen, P. H. and Madow, W. G. "Changes in the formal and functional organization of the projects." SRI Internal Memorandum, Nov. 5, 1969, p. 1.

Under what circumstances will a change take place? In general, it is useful to assume that the members of an organization are continually monitoring their performance and, in particular, are in a position to assess the adequacy of the organization at achieving its perceived objectives. To the extent that performance is adequate, there is no reason to introduce changes; to the extent that performance is perceived as inadequate, there is reason to consider changes that will lead to improved performance.

Under many circumstances, individuals in an organization may be aware that performance is not wholly adequate but may refrain from doing anything about it, either because performance is seen as not bad enough to justify changes or perhaps because it isn't yet clear what changes ought to be made. Eventually, one stage ends to be succeeded by another when some decisions are finally made about organizational changes that ought to be introduced.

Under most circumstances, decisions to change are preceded by a series of predisposing circumstances or events, which are evidence of a need to change but which in themselves do not lead to immediate action. But they are remembered. Change is often triggered by some precipitating events which are also indicative of a need to change; these events precipitate change in the sense that they lead to some decisions about reorganization that take into account both the predisposing as well as the precipitating events.

This general description of change from one stage to another fits with reasonable accuracy what happened at SRI. The predisposing events have already been reviewed. They took place during the project initiation phase and they include particularly those meetings at which the SRI effort was being reviewed. At these meetings, as we have indicated before, it was quite apparent that SRI was having difficulty in carrying out all aspects of the program for which they were responsible. Beginning in August, 1969, a series of rather separate issues had to be dealt with. More importantly the discussions about these issues precipitated some decisions that had implications for the reorganization of SRI and a clarification of what it was trying to accomplish.

Field Testing. A third round of field testing was to take place in Fall, 1969 and plans for this testing had to be reviewed in light of the criticisms expressed at the July 30 - August 2nd review meeting. By September 5th, final decisions about details on the classroom testing were completed — including decisions about test materials, sampling, control groups, etc. There followed a hectic period from September 5th to October 6th, on which date the first training of the test supervisors began. And the testing continued for the next few weeks.

As we indicated before, during 1968-69, local staffs were recruited, along with local supervisors, to carry out the program of classroom testing. These were by and large temporary employees and it soon became apparent that this method of operation was quite inadequate to carry out the fall testing program. Nevertheless, with great difficulty, the testing was completed with more or less satisfactory results. Since this method of operation had appeared to be adequate for testing in 1968-69, why had it suddenly become inadequate?

In Table 4-1 there are summarized the annual budgets actually expended by SRI over the four-year period beginning in 1968-69. Note that there is a three-fold increase from the first to the second year and increases in

---

Insert Table 4-1 about here.

Table 4-1

Actual SRI Expenditures per Year for Follow Through

Year	Amount
1968-69	$836,100
1969-70	2,507,179
1970-71	3,516,882
1971-72	5,356,344

the two succeeding years are much less extreme. From Table 4-2 summarizing the number of classrooms tested and the number of pupils tested, we can see even more clearly how the magnitude of the field testing effort had changed from the first to second year. There is an almost nine-fold increase when we compare Fall, 1968 to Fall, 1969. Subsequent increases are quite modest.

Insert Table 4-2 about here.

Based on this fall experience, it seemed quite warranted to conclude that the method for carrying out the field testing, adopted in 1968-69, was wholly inappropriate to the magnitude of the effort being undertaken in 1969-70, although it had been appropriate for the much smaller effort carried out in 1968-69.

As a result, a major reorganization of the field testing was begun in November, 1969, which was not fully completed for approximately one year. First of all, the decision was made to hire full-time field supervisors who would reside in Menlo Park and would be part of the central staff. They would be responsible for training and supervision at the local level as well as for controlling the quality of data and for the transmission of the data to Menlo Park. Six supervisors had been hired by Spring, 1970 testing. At the present time, there are sixteen full-time supervisors who have primary responsibility for the field testing.

A second decision was made that involved some delegation of responsibility to the local projects in connection with the field testing. As a result of this decision, data collection teams are hired locally by the local projects and the number of such teams is a function of the size of the local project. Each team is supervised by a supervising tester and the set of local activities are responsible to a site coordinator. In general, supervising testers and site coordinators are hired locally by SRI and are responsible

Table 4-2

Magnitude of the Follow Through Classroom Testing Effort

Year	Classrooms	Pupils
Fall 1968	203	4,059
Spring 1969	203	4,059
Fall 1969	1,512	34,319
Spring 1970	699	13,920
Fall 1970	1,924	44,478
Spring 1971	929	16,951
Fall 1971	1,600	36,800
Spring 1972	1,689	37,427

to one of the field supervisors. One effect of this change is that some of the budget for field testing is shifted from SRI to the local projects. More importantly, relationships between SRI and local projects have been improved by the introduction of this division of responsibility. The local projects have more at stake in the successful administration of the testing and the locally-hired testers are able to work more easily and more cooperatively with local teachers, parents, and children.

At this point, one might want to question whether this elaborate supervisory structure of field supervisor, site coordinator, and supervising tester is necessary. Although we have not attempted to make any direct observations of the field testing, it is our impression that the field operations now function much more effectively than they did initially. It would appear that SRI (as well as Follow Through) seriously underestimated the administrative complexity of the field operation and that the testing effort does require a significant investment in a supervisory staff. Along these lines, it may be important to include some estimates of the proportion of the SRI effort that is committed to field testing. For 1970-71, Sorensen has estimated that 57% of the total SRI budget was committed to the field measurement activities. In addition, in Table 4-3, there are figures for the number of supervising testers, assistant test administrators, and testing aides for the four-year period beginning in 1968-69. For 1971-72, one notes that on the average each field supervisor was responsible for the activities of approximately 190 temporary employees.

Insert Table 4-3 about here.

Administrative Reorganization within SRI. Along with the administrative reorganization of the field testing effort, SRI gradually began to modify

Table 4-3

Number of Supervising Testers,
Assistant Test Administrators and Aides

Year	Number
1968-69	507
1969-70	1,951
1970-71	1,954
1971-72	3,048

the administrative arrangements for the total evaluation effort. Let us look first of all at the responsibilities being carried out by Sorensen and Madow as project director and associate director during the period of project initiation. As we indicated before, each had a number of substantive responsibilities with Sorensen very much involved in plans for all of the testing and data collection and Madow responsible for analysis and for the processing of data. As project administrators, they had several other responsibilities. They were responsible for liaison with Follow Through, including all negotiations that affected budget, reports, schedules, and the overall design of the evaluation effort. This was a very important responsibility and one that was extremely time consuming. Note also that these negotiations were sometimes about major technical issues and sometimes about more practical questions of detail, schedules, budget, and implementation. It is easy to underestimate the importance of this liaison action. Moreover, as we have indicated before, liaison involved much more than keeping others informed. Meetings were frequently stressful and filled with some conflict.

The project directors also were responsible for the internal administration of the project, for the budget, for the establishment of procedures for managing the field effort, and for a host of other details. Two other responsibilities were for the coordination of activities among various parts of the SRI staff and for the preparation of a variety of reports, including annual proposals and progress or final reports on one or more phases of the analysis. By November, 1969, it was quite apparent that Sorensen and Madow were seriously overloaded and that some reallocation of responsibilities was essential.

A first set of changes is summarized in Figure 4-1, which is the

Insert Figure 4-1 about here.

organization chart that accompanied the November 1969 memorandum. With minor modifications, this organization chart was still in effect in March, 1970. Before discussing the significance of the changes that were taking place, let us introduce a second chart, dated June, 1971, which summarizes the end result of this series of administrative reorganizations.[12]

Insert Figure 4-2 about here.

The first change that is significant is that an administrative buffer had been created to operate at the interface between SRI and the Follow Through management. In the first chart, this buffer appears in the form of a Research Policy Committee while in the second chart in the form of a Project Administrator. Note that the Project Administrator, H. L. Dixon, is also the Director of the Urban and Social Systems Division of which the evaluation effort is a part. Actually, Dixon began to function as project administrator before the role was formally recognized. He makes a clear distinction between himself as administrator and Sorensen and Madow as the technical directors and emphasizes that he views himself as qualified for the administrative but not for the technical and substantive responsibilities.

How does one explain the gradual evolution of this particular role? One indication of a rationale is suggested by the following quotation, also from the November 9th memorandum:

> "Our clients — both USOE/Follow Through and Head Start — have expressed concern about our performance. Put bluntly, we're under the gun from both. Our performance must be improved, and doing so may require some

---

[12] Although the chart is dated June, 1971, it would appear that this plan of organization had been in effect for several months prior to the time that this document was issued.

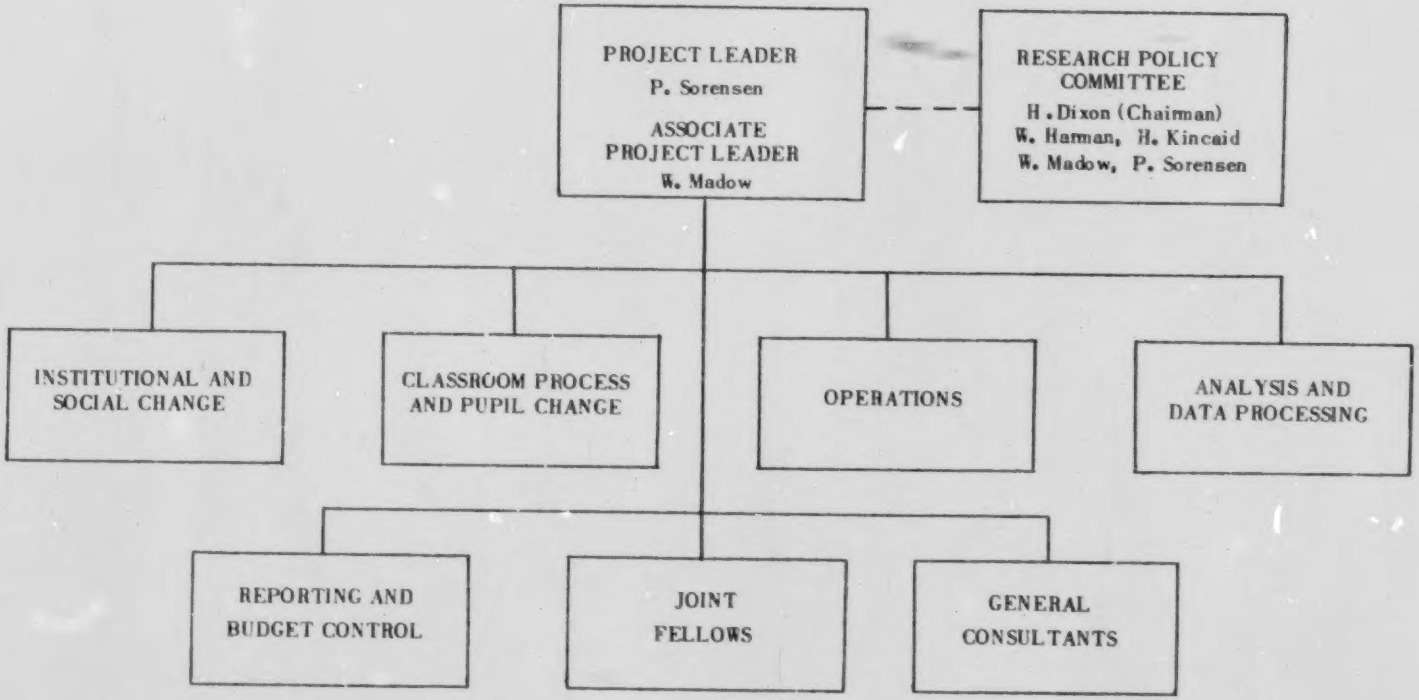
PROJECT LEADER
P. Sorensen
ASSOCIATE PROJECT LEADER
W. Madow
RESEARCH POLICY COMMITTEE
H. Dixon (Chairman)
W. Harman, H. Kincaid
W. Madow, P. Sorensen
INSTITUTIONAL AND SOCIAL CHANGE
CLASSROOM PROCESS AND PUPIL CHANGE
OPERATIONS
ANALYSIS AND DATA PROCESSING
REPORTING AND BUDGET CONTROL
JOINT FELLOWS
GENERAL CONSULTANTS

Figure 4.1. Project Organization, November 1969.

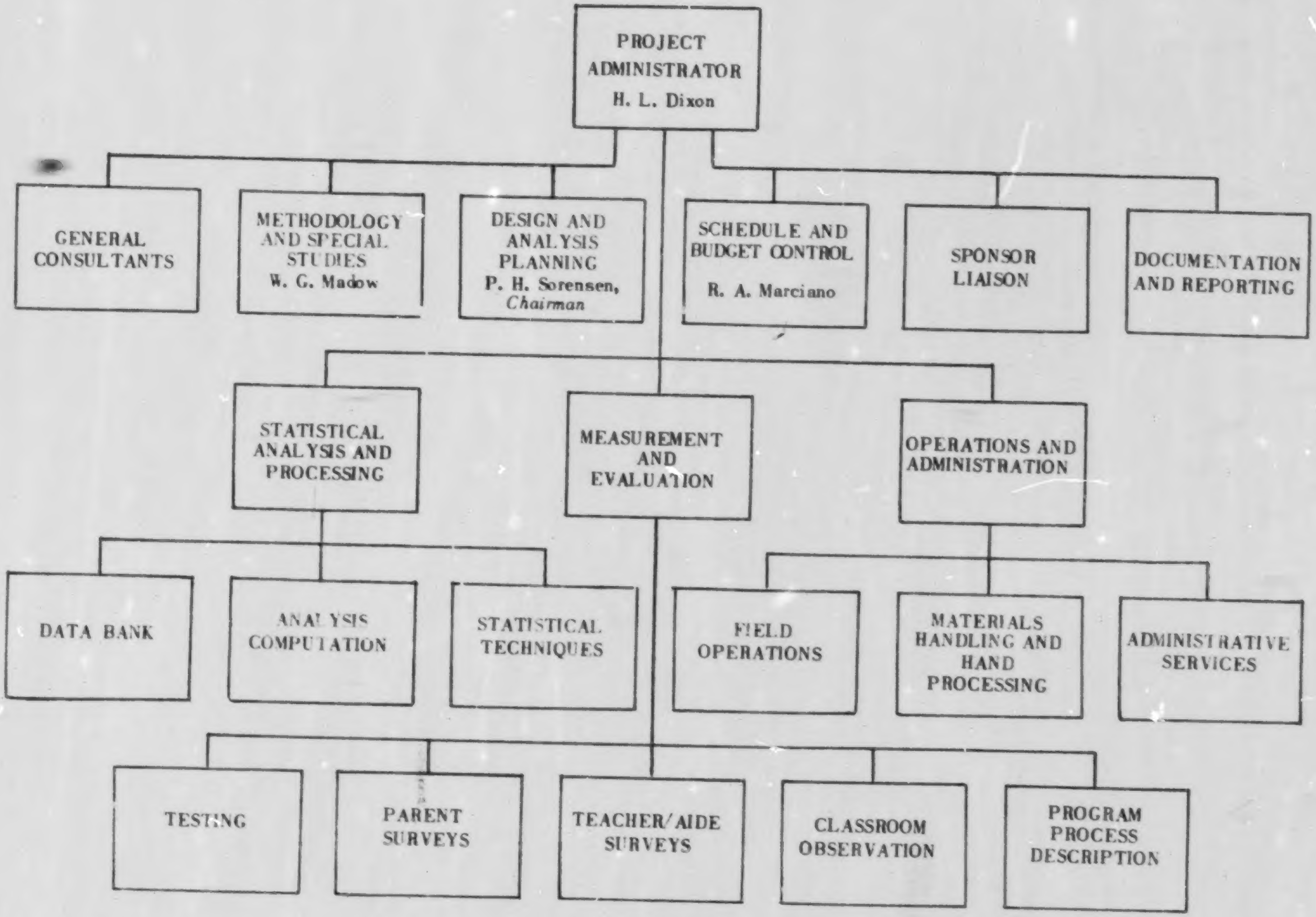
PROJECT ADMINISTRATOR
H. L. Dixon
GENERAL CONSULTANTS
METHODOLOGY AND SPECIAL STUDIES
W. G. Madow
DESIGN AND ANALYSIS PLANNING
P. H. Sorensen, *Chairman*
SCHEDULE AND BUDGET CONTROL
R. A. Marciano
SPONSOR LIAISON
DOCUMENTATION AND REPORTING
STATISTICAL ANALYSIS AND PROCESSING
MEASUREMENT AND EVALUATION
OPERATIONS AND ADMINISTRATION
DATA BANK
ANALYSIS COMPUTATION
STATISTICAL TECHNIQUES
FIELD OPERATIONS
MATERIALS HANDLING AND HAND PROCESSING
ADMINISTRATIVE SERVICES
TESTING
PARENT SURVEYS
TEACHER/AIDE SURVEYS
CLASSROOM OBSERVATION
PROGRAM PROCESS DESCRIPTION

Figure 4-2. Management and Staffing Plans, June 1971.

actions far beyond the organizational changes described below." Actually SRI was being increasingly pressured by the Follow Through Branch to meet deadlines, produce preliminary reports, and improve performance, although, importantly enough, Follow Through itself was increasingly under pressure to show evidence that SRI was carrying out its responsibilities. Moreover, Follow Through was being pressured to be more formal in its dealings with SRI, to have more of the agreements reached clearly in writing, and to be careful to obtain the "deliverables" that were required by the contract. These pressures were being transmitted to SRI.

Thus, the project administrator gradually became responsible for "tightening up" on the SRI style of operation, for seeing to it that clear-cut formal agreements were reached between SRI and Follow Through, for the establishment of deadlines and ensuring that they were being met, and for establishing more formal control over the expenditure of funds. The project directors participated in making these decisions through weekly meetings of the Research Policy Committee but the project administrator took an increasingly active role in the dealings with Follow Through and with ensuring that SRI was meeting its commitments.

Interestingly enough, there are desirable psychological consequences to this separation of functions that was taking place. As project leaders, Sorensen and Madow operated with relative informality; of necessity, they participated as colleagues with the rest of the SRI staff. This style of operation was consistent with their intention to create an informal, academic atmosphere, in which the staff would work together as equals. But the pressures being exerted on SRI meant that someone had to be more businesslike, more formal, as well as responsible for a certain degree of "discipline." And it is difficult for one individual to combine these two styles: to be on occasion informal and a colleague while on other occasions to be formal and clearly "in charge." The dilemma was partially resolved as the project administrator took over the more formal responsibilities, thus permitting Sorensen and Madow to continue to function more informally as colleagues. In a sense, a "honeymoon" period, lasting about a year in the relationship between SRI and Follow Through, was coming to an end.

There is a second significant change that had to do with increasing recognition of the complexity of the problems of internal administration. In Figure 4-1, there appear two boxes labelled "Operations" and "Reporting and Budget Control." The first of these has to do primarily with managing the details of the field testing program while the second has to do with keeping an increasingly accurate control over expenditures and learning to predict with greater accuracy how much different activities would cost and how the expenditure of funds could be made more efficient.

A related change took place with the hiring in April, 1970 of R. A. Marciano to serve as project controller. In Figure 4-2, he appears as in charge of Schedule and Budget Control as well as of Operations and Administration. By means of these changes, Sorensen and Madow were relieved of the burdensome responsibilities for some very important details and overall responsibility for these functions was clearly assigned to a single individual. Actually, beginning with the initiation of the project, there had been a continuing emphasis on the problem of budget control. For example, in making up the 1968-69 budget, there were some difficulties in making estimates of costs per individual included in the sample because there was no previous experience with this particular project. However, estimates based on prior experience with similar projects could be utilized. By Fall, 1969, estimates of costs per individual tested were much improved. The difficulty encountered this year was that changes in the scope of testing were introduced after the original budget proposal had been submitted in Summer, 1969. As a result, expenditures exceeded the budget to such an extent as to jeopardize the plans for the Spring, 1970, testing. This was one of the topics discussed at a meeting in Washington on December 12-13, 1969. At any rate, it was clear that SRI needed to give continuing attention to the accuracy of its cost estimates and Marciano's activities as controller have led to a considerable improvement.

Marciano also helps to serve as a buffer between Follow Through, other Washington agencies, and SRI, thus relieving others of this responsibility. Marciano has come to participate more and more actively in the negotiations with Washington, in the preparation of proposals and particularly in discussions that concern the SRI budget. Moreover, SRI is subject to periodic audits by outside accountants of their expenditures. Such audits are important as well as time-consuming, and Marciano and his staff are primarily responsible for these interactions with government auditors.

There is a third change that is implied by this pair of charts on project organization which has to do with a clearer allocation of responsibility for specific tasks, signified in Figure 4-1 by the boxes labelled Institutional and Social Change, Classroom Process and Pupil Change, and Analysis and Data Processing. It is not so much that the identification of important tasks has changed but rather that a more clear-cut allocation of responsibility had been made.

Finally, there is a box in Figure 4-1 labelled "Joint Fellows" which represented an attempt to develop more effective working relationships between sponsors and SRI. This was an idea that had been first advanced in March, 1969, and had been discussed subsequently. The idea was that each sponsor would appoint a staff member as a "Fellow" to work with SRI. This individual would spend some time at SRI working with the SRI staff and having full access to the activities of SRI. There were several purposes to be accomplished. The fellows would have an opportunity to become more familiar with the SRI effort and to serve as a liaison between SRI and each of the sponsors. In turn, the fellows would have an opportunity to influence the plans of SRI and particularly to ensure that the views of the sponsors would be made known to SRI. There was also the idea that the fellows might want to carry out projects as part of the evaluation effort that would be of mutual benefit both to a sponsor or sponsors as well as SRI. We shall have more to say later about the success of this effort.

In summary, SRI began to institute a variety of reorganizations of which the following were the most important: (1) Administrative responsibility for internal management as well as for relations with Washington was assigned to two newly created positions, along with a supporting staff: a project administrator and a project controller. (2) A more clear-cut assignment of responsibility for certain specific tasks was made. (3) A new mechanism, in the form of the joint Fellows, was created in order to provide for improved coordination between sponsors and SRI. (4) The responsibilities of the project directors were redefined in order to make their positions more manageable and in order to make it possible for them to devote themselves more fully to the substance of the evaluation effort. (5) Coordination among working groups was to be accomplished by a Research Policy Committee, later renamed a Policy Directorate, who would be responsible for planning and policy-making.

Redefinition of objectives. During this same period, there was also a consolidation of effort which had the effect of clarifying and redefining the objectives of the Follow Through evaluation. In a sense, SRI had identified a variety of tasks and had proceeded by trial and error to develop plans and to put these plans, when approved, into effect. In some respects, they were successful; in others, they were not. Let us now try to review briefly what happened to each of the major tasks during this period of consolidation. In this respect, it is revealing to make some comparisons of these two organization charts because they are indicative of some changes that were taking place during this period of consolidation. For example, in Fig. 4-1 but not in Fig. 4-2, there appears an entry entitled "Institutional and Social Change" which included as sub-headings Case Studies, Program Implementation Review, Parent Interviews, and Teacher Interviews. By the end of this period, the broad emphasis on institutional and social change had disappeared and what survived were some of the sub-headings which reappear under the separate headings of Parent Surveys, Teacher and Teacher Aide Surveys, and Program Process Description. In the earlier organization chart, the other major heading is entitled Classroom Process and Pupil Change, with the sub-headings of Achievement measures, noncognitive measures, test development, and classroom process description. In the later chart, two of the sub-headings have disappeared — Noncognitive Measures and Test Development — while the two remaining subheadings continue to exist under the separate headings of Testing and Classroom Observations.

Now let us look in more detail at these shifts in emphasis.

1. Community studies. During 1968-69, a modest program in this area had been begun. The main activity consisted of a set of case studies. Some additional case studies were added in 1969 and a report based on data collected during 1969-70 was published under the date[13] of March, 1971 with the title "Longitudinal Evaluation of Selected Features of the National Follow Through Program: Appendix F: Case Studies, 1969-70."

---

[13] Dates on reports are often misleading. Since the review process was moderately time-consuming, it is usually the case that a report was completed a few months before it was finally available.

The case studies were somewhat unsatisfactory for several reasons. They were primarily descriptive and didn't really come to grips with a very critical question: what should be the purpose of a program of institutional and social change? There was also the problem of how to generalize from case studies, of how one could reach some conclusions that might be of some relevance to the policy issues that would eventually be discussed. And each community studied seemed to have such a unique personality that the studies had little bearing on events taking place in other communities. Lacking was any well-developed conceptual framework that would facilitate comparison among communities and would provide a basis for some useful generalizations. Yet in the review meetings with sponsors, held during the summer of 1969, SRI had been clearly reminded of the importance of institutional change and that they ought to be placing greater emphasis on this portion of the eventual effort.

Accordingly, at the planning meeting held on August 10-11, 1969, some decisions were made to expand and strengthen the emphasis on institutional change. Moreover, an agreement was reached that something in addition to the case studies was essential in order to provide for some general understanding of the dynamics of institutional change. This effort continued for the next 18 months but with little success until, in Sorensen's words, "These studies were later scaled back to a more realistic scope."[14] To what extent can we provide some explanations for the relative lack of success over this period? The difficulties appear to have included the following.

During the first few months of the expanded effort, the staff assigned to these studies found it extremely difficult to agree on any statement of objectives or on a plan of action to which they were willing to commit themselves. For example, should the focus of the study be on institutional change as an end in itself or as the means to some other ends? To the extent that the latter objective is adopted, one needs to consider what are these other ends. Is institutional change desirable because it affects what happens in the classroom, because it affects attitudes of parents, teachers, administrators, because it affects achievement, or all of these? To the extent that the former objective is adopted, which institutions are the targets of change? Is the objective to be able to organize parents into Policy Advisory Committees, to change the school system, or to change the political and economic structure of the community? The problem wasn't that there was not enough to do but rather that there were too many possibilities and no acceptable criteria for choosing amongst them. In retrospect, one might as well have made program decisions by choosing topics at random, for any decision would have been preferable, provided that one began to carry out that decision.

---

[14] Stanford Research Institute. Administrative History of the Follow Through Evaluation, 1968-72. Menlo Park, Cal., 1972, p. 16.

A second difficulty during this period had to do with the kind of involvement that one should have with local projects. Should the research team work as neutral observers trying to understand the dynamics of change or should they be active participants helping to bring about change? Within the team, there was some support for this latter position. As we observed before, the point of view of the total evaluation effort was that SRI should be neutral in attempting to study what was happening. Then, some differences developed between the institutional change staff and the rest of SRI over this issue; this was also an issue that had divisive effects within the subgroup assigned to these studies.

During the fall of 1969, several planning meetings were held at which some outside consultants were present. The purpose was to try to resolve some of these issues. The meetings were productive but somehow it appeared they were unable to reach firm decisions about the program of institutional change. However, the effort to complete the case studies already underway was continued.

Then, in the spring of 1970, the staff member in charge of this effort resigned. His decision was influenced in part by the difficulties he had experienced with the program and with the fact that their success had so far been limited. In addition, he had wanted an opportunity to become more actively involved as a change agent and his new position as a Follow Through sponsor offere certain opportunities for active involvement that were not possible at SRI. After some delay, he was replaced by another member of this research group.

There now began another effort to define some overall plans and this effort continued for more than a year. Those same difficulties that we have already mentioned continued but there were some additional difficulties that could be identified.

There was a tendency within SRI to underestimate the complexity and difficulty of the task that had been assigned to this group. Although there is an abundant literature available on institutional change, there exists no accepted theory that is readily applicable. Thus, the group was being asked to make theoretical contributions at a very high level of accomplishment in order to proceed. In addition, to the extent that they could agree on objectives, they still had to design from the beginning the measuring instruments that would be needed. There was no body of readily available instruments on which they could rely.

Secondly, it proved to be difficult to recruit a staff that was as experienced and qualified as would have been desirable. Although there were some members of the staff who were quite experienced, several others were new to this field of study and found themselves more or less trying to learn on-the-job.

In addition, the group assigned to these studies gradually came to operate in a rather isolated fashion from the rest of the SRI evaluation effort. The fact that they were somewhat isolated is not at all surprising. After all, most of the SRI staff shared a common background and a common set of interests in classroom activities, data analysis, and educational psychology. The staff working on institutional change had different backgrounds and a different set of interests, more nearly centered in sociology and the social psychology of organizations. Moreover, the senior SRI administrators were busy enough and it was quite natural for them to focus their attention on the main effort while giving much less attention to this apparently secondary effort.

Thus, the work of the institutional change staff was made all the more difficult by some discouragement as a result of their slow progress and their relative isolation. After all, it was readily apparent within the group that they were not making progress and that SRI was being criticized for their lack of success in this area. Then too, there were internal conflicts that could not be resolved and the leadership of the group was ineffective in resolving these conflicts or in helping the group to develop any real sense of commitment or accomplishment. Perhaps the administrators of the overall effort might have been able to provide some leadership but they were busy enough with their own responsibilities and did not see themselves as particularly well qualified in the area of institutional change.

In short, the years 1969-71 were difficult and demoralizing for the institutional change staff. Eventually, as somewhat of a compromise, several separate activities began to be salvaged while the attempt to develop an integrated program devoted to institutional change was gradually abandoned. We will review subsequently what was accomplished by these separate activities.

2. Parent interviews. This is one activity that began as part of the program of community studies and that soon began to be treated as a relatively separate entity. From the beginning in 1968-69, progress was made on the development of plans for interviewing parents. A first draft of an interview schedule had been prepared by December, 1968, at which time it was discussed in one of the early review sessions. By October, 1969, a revised schedule was completed and submitted for review and approval by the Bureau of the Budget. As early as Spring, 1969, a tentative decision had been made that the actual interviewing in the field would be carried out through a subcontract to one of the available groups that had experience in this field. By Winter, 1969, contacts had been made with the National Opinion Research Center (NORC) and eventually they became responsible for the field activities in this area. Indeed, one program of parent interviews was completed during 1969-70 and a somewhat revised program of activities was carried out in 1970-71, to be repeated in 1971-72.

In spite of some difficulties, activities in this area of effort have been carried out with reasonable success. For example, although reviews of the initial drafts of an interview schedule were unfavorable, later drafts were considerably more acceptable.

There appear to be a number of reasons for the relative success of this effort. Relatively early in the planning, this effort began to be treated as an autonomous activity. Also, this is an area in which a good deal of experience has been accumulated that could be used in developing an interview schedule. In fact, SRI made extensive use of some sponsors who had an interest in this area of study, as well as some outside consultants; the outside assistance was of great value. Finally, it was unnecessary for SRI to develop a field staff for carrying out this portion of the data collection since the subcontract with NORC had the effect of making available to SRI an existing and experienced field staff.

It has also been interesting to note that the program of parent interviewing soon began to move into close collaboration with the main data collection effort. After awhile, the parent interviewing (as well as the interviewing of teachers and teacher aides) was assimilated into the main testing activity and has remained so up to the present time.

3. Noncognitive measures. As we indicated before, sponsors had an important stake in the development of an appropriate set of noncognitive measures. After all, the assessment of noncognitive changes was crucial to the evaluation of several sponsor programs; indeed, we are not aware of any sponsor who felt that this area of measurement was unimportant. Similarly, Follow Through had emphasized from the beginning the importance of noncognitive assessment.

On August 10-11, 1969, there was a planning meeting, held at Menlo Park, which was an outgrowth of the larger meeting of July 30 - August 2, 1969 at which sponsors had had an opportunity to react to the SRI evaluation plans. At this planning meeting, there continued to be an emphasis on the importance of the noncognitive measures and some dissatisfaction was expressed at the progress that had been made by SRI. From this meeting, there emerged an agreement that some noncognitive testing would be carried out as part of the Spring, 1970 testing program. There was also the expectation that some preliminary testing of possible instruments would be undertaken at that time; and the program of testing would be expanded as soon as suitable instruments had been developed and pretested. During the next few months, planning continued for the program of spring testing.

There was a very small staff assigned initially to this effort and they worked closely with sponsors in order to identify the sponsors' noncognitive objectives. Later, the joint fellows were actively involved in helping with the development of the noncognitive measures and particularly in ensuring that the sponsors' views were being taken into account.

Subsequently, on Feb. 12 - 14, 1970, a meeting was held in Menlo Park to review all of the SRI plans, including those for the noncognitive testing. There were in attendance some sponsors as well as a variety of outside advisers. As before, the response to the plans for noncognitive testing was critical and those staff members most involved were discouraged and somewhat frustrated. The following quotation is indicative of the reactions of the SRI staff.

> "This conference did little to reduce frustration among SRI project staff who, on the one hand, were attempting to carry out wishes expressed in earlier planning meetings (e.g. July - August, 1969) but, on the other hand, were being criticized more than helped in delimiting the scope or sharpening the specifications of evaluation issues. This sense of frustration was felt most forcefully by those seeking to extend the pupil measures to include noncognitive variables and by staff attempting to conceptualize and render manageable studies of social change within community settings. Review of the transcripts from this meeting rekindles feelings shared generally throughout the SRI staff — gratitude for the expressions of sympathy offered by external advisers but despair for the lack of delimiting suggestions to which USOE/FT staff responded favorably."[15]

---

[15] SRI, Administrative History of the Follow Through Evaluation, 1968-1972, Menlo Park, Cal., 1972, pp. 19-20.

Let us look at some of the difficulties that had to be faced in this area. To a significant extent, SRI was caught in a conflict between their views of what was possible and what others felt was desirable. Everyone was in agreement that noncognitive testing was difficult, but it was much more difficult to reach any agreements about what was a realistic or even acceptable level of effort. This conflict was compounded because of the importance of the issue to sponsors, Follow Through, and other outside advisers. After all, sponsors expected to be judged by these evaluation measures and some sponsors at least were convinced (and perhaps correctly) that their programs would be unfairly evaluated unless suitable noncognitive measures could be included. In addition, the noncognitive measures were crucial to the formative aspects of the evaluation; i.e. to developing some understanding of what was happening or of some of the crucial differences between sponsors. Moreover, in order to develop some understanding, SRI had to come to grips with some very difficult conceptual questions, some of which had to do with the differential effects to be expected of different sponsor programs on the noncognitive measures. For example, SRI was trying out some measures of school fearfulness, ethnic identity, locus of control, intrinsic motivation, attitudes toward school, etc. Which type of sponsor program should have the stronger effect on certain of these measures and why? Finally, there were some important practical (i.e. economic) issues that had to be taken into account. Noncognitive measures are difficult to administer and are usually administered on an individual basis by relatively high skilled personnel. If the noncognitive measures were to be an essential part of the evaluation, then they would have to be administered to a large number of students. Could this be done economically? Could it be done with local personnel, with only a limited amount of training?

We should point out that some friction could easily and did develop between SRI staff members and sponsors (including the joint fellows) over the program of noncognitive testing. To some extent, SRI expected and needed help from sponsors in defining what ought to be done in this area and in the development of hypotheses. It was not always easy to obtain this help. Yet, in the final analysis, it was SRI that had to accept responsibility for the measures that were developed.

In the spring of 1970, the scheduled program of noncognitive testing was carried out, having been preceded by some pilot testing in Feb. 1970. The testing included a variety of instruments to be administered on an individual basis, plus some instruments for group administration. In all, approximately 850 students were included in this study. The next few months were spent in the analysis of the data.

The period beginning in Sept. 1970 through Dec. 1970 was a difficult one for the staff assigned to this project. Again, a quotation from the SRI administrative history is indicative of the difficulties that had arisen.

> "During this period, the status of the report on noncognitive testing became the greatest issue. Analyses of these data had proven to be more complex and time consuming than originally anticipated, and the SRI staff responsible for the quality of the analysis were reluctant to submit what they felt would be an incomplete report. USOE/FT staff, on the other hand, were annoyed by the delay in completion. The conflict between timeliness from OE's viewpoint and quality and completeness from SRI's viewpoint created a polarity about the noncognitive report that probably prevented an entirely dispassionate appraisal of it. (The report, when finally submitted in December 1970 as Appendix D

of the 1969-70 SRI evaluation, satisfied no one fully.)"[16]

Note that some noncognitive measures had been added to the Spring, 1969, battery and had been included in each subsequent testing. What is important is that the effort at improving the noncognitive testing through the development of additional measures came effectively to an end with the publication of this December, 1970, report. Although some work continued for a brief period and some noncognitive testing has continued to be included in the regular test batteries, support for the development of additional noncognitive measures was removed from all succeeding SRI budget proposals.

In passing, we ought to point out that the staff members assigned to this project found themselves caught between two rather conflicting points of view. As psychologists, they shared an academically oriented set of values that research should not be published until one is satisfied with the results and until one feels that the research has been appropriately completed. However, SRI had made certain commitments to Follow Through and had deadlines to which they were being held. From an administrative point of view, it was important to honor those commitments. As a result, there was conflict first between Follow Through and the SRI administration and subsequently between the SRI administration and the staff assigned to this project.

4. Classroom observations. During the first year of activity, classroom observations as well as noncognitive testing were included under the general heading of Pupil and Classroom Measurements. Plans for the development of an observational instrument proceeded with relatively little guidance from the main SRI staff and, unfortunately, with relatively little involvement of the sponsors. After a first instrument had been developed, it was reviewed both internally as well as with sponsors and consultants and managed to please no one. In general, sponsors felt that it did not adequately measure what they were trying to accomplish. There was also the

---

[16] SRI, 1968-72 Evaluation. Appendix D, 1972, p. F-25.

implication that the staff members responsible for the instrument were taking sides and, perhaps without realizing it, were favoring certain sponsor approaches at the expense of others.

Eventually, in October 1969, some staff changes were made that placed certain different individuals in charge of the effort. In addition, an outside consultant who was knowledgeable about Follow Through became actively involved; his work on a parallel development in classroom observation was supported through a separate contract with Follow Through during 1969-70, 1970-71, and 1971-72. At about this time, an effort was made to have more contact with sponsors and, indeed, the joint fellows began to take a very active responsibility for the development of the observational measurements.

Plans continued to develop during 1969-70 and the first regular collection of data took place in Spring, 1970. By this time, the purposes of the classroom observations had received considerable clarification.

> "One was to provide a means for assessing the degree to which instructional approaches or models were implemented and, as a corollary to this, to provide a description of the model in precise terms. The second purpose was to obtain information about instructional outcomes (primarily child behavior) that are most directly measured through observation."[17]

Beginning with the Spring 1970 data collection, the classroom observational effort has enjoyed a relatively successful and certainly stable existence and there are several reasons why the effort has prospered. It has been well received by the sponsors[18] who have been satisfied with the methods that were developed and who have found that the data collected were of value to them in making assessments about their own programs. In addition, Head Start has been very supportive of the classroom observational effort. Indeed, this SRI project is being supported by both Head Start and Follow Through, and SRI is responsible for the collection of observational data for both programs. Interestingly enough, this is one of the few areas in which SRI has been able to combine its responsibilities to Head Start and Follow Through into a unified program of activities.

---

[17] SRI. Longitudinal Evaluation of Selected Features of the National Follow Through Program. Menlo Park, Cal., March, 1971, p. 55.

[18] Actually, only eight sponsors have been actively involved.

5. Classroom Testing and Experimental Design. This particular effort continued to be the largest single activity being undertaken by SRI and it too went through some reorganization during the period under consideration. The basic form of the activity remained unchanged: testing was carried out each Fall and Spring. There were some changes made in the details of the testing but for our purposes these were primarily a matter of detail. Of course, there was one major measurement problem that had to be faced each year for the first few years: to add to the battery of tests as Follow Through became involved with another grade level. To be specific, in 1968-69 as well as 1969-70, testing was carried out in kindergarten and the first grade; testing in the second grade was added in 1970-71, in the third grade in 1971-72.[19] Moreover, separate attention had to be given each year to the development of test batteries for the fall and the spring testing. Note that in Figure 4-2 but not in Figure 4-1, there appears an entry labelled Testing and there is some significance to be attached to this addition. Initially, the development of a new test battery was the responsibility of everyone associated with classroom testing and, as a result, no

---

[19] Some testing in the second, third, and fourth grade was carried out in 1969-70, in order to provide some baseline data for the evaluation of Follow Through.

one was clearly responsible. Not surprisingly, there was a tendency to delay decisions about the test battery until it was almost too late. Then there would be a frantic effort to complete the selection of some appropriate tests and obtain approval for them so that commitments to the field staff could be met.

Actually, from the point of view of the timing and sequencing of activities, there has to be an intimate relationship between the field activities and the development of a new test battery. For example, one can reason backwards from a target date on which testing should begin and identify some subsidiary target dates that must be satisfied if the main objective is to be achieved. Testing must be preceded by a training period at which time the test batteries must be complete. Before training can take place, a staff must have been recruited and all sampling decisions must have been made. One must have allowed sufficient time for pretesting and test battery revision as well as for the complex sequence of approvals, without which field testing cannot take place, etc. At any rate, during this period of consolidation, the importance of the test battery development was clearly recognized. Certain staff members were assigned to this activity with a clear definition of responsibility. By Spring 1971, these staff members had worked out a reasonable schedule and the atmosphere of crisis associated with the test selection had more or less disappeared. In addition, some important progress on revising the test batteries, eliminating redundancies, and making the testing more relevant to the sponsors' program objectives had been accomplished.

The other important changes had to do with issues about data analysis and the design of the evaluation procedure. Let us first consider what might have been ideal and the extent to which it was impossible to realize this ideal. It was Follow Through's intention to think of the program of planned variation as a single gigantic experiment. In order to do this, one would like to be able to establish an experimental design before beginning to collect any data. But this has not been possible for a variety of reasons. Thus, SRI has often been in the position of trying to rationalize an experimental design after data have been collected and after certain decisions have already been made. As a result, one tries to improvise a quasi-experimental design. More importantly, during this period of consolidation, additional decisions were made in succeeding years which had the effect of changing the design in mid-stream and of then attempting to rationalize these changes in the best possible fashion. Consider some hypothetical experimenter or statistician and let's assume that this individual is a purist about experimental design. From his point of view, the SRI experience of being continually forced to change their design would be a nightmare. But we would like to make it clear that, in our opinion, in a large field experiment carried out over a period of years, many of these difficulties are inherent.

To give any detailed record of the evolution of the SRI design and analysis plans over this period is beyond the scope of this report. Indeed, the history of these changes is enormously complex and confusing. However, we would like to review some incidents in order to illustrate the complexity of the problem and why changes were being introduced.

1. When testing began in Fall 1968, why hadn't SRI already developed a detailed experimental design that could be maintained over the next few years? As we indicated before, the SRI proposal had been written in a matter of weeks. Then, after a contract had been signed in July, 1968, SRI was committed to begin testing in the fall of 1968. It would seem not unreasonable to assume that it would have taken several months to

develop a workable design and this amount of time was not available. In addition, some of the decisions about design could not be made in the absence of certain empirical data or without certain prior decisions having been made. For example, how many sponsors would be included and for how many projects would each be responsible? Additional sponsors were added in 1969-70 and the number of projects per sponsor did not stabilize for at least two years. Would it be possible to define control groups that would be adequately matched to the experimental procedures? Initially, no one knew, although certain difficulties could be anticipated. If it were possible, then the analysis procedures could be simplified. If not, one would have to introduce more complex procedures in order to compensate for this lack of comparability. Another set of questions had to do with the cost for a given sample size. In order to answer certain kinds of questions, one might want to have a fairly large sample. How large a sample could one afford? Still other questions that were not settled at that time had to do with a definition of the policy decisions to be made based on the assessment data and when they would have to be made. In retrospect, one could easily argue that SRI should not have been asked to collect data during the first year but rather have been given a year in which to develop a design and prepare for its implementation.

2. Another critical decision arose after the 1968-69 data had been collected and some preliminary reports had been prepared based on these data. Not surprisingly, the data were not available for examination until Winter 1970 and by this time much of the planning for the 1969-70 data collection had already been completed. Thus, as a result of the delay that occurs between the collection of data and its analysis, the experience of one year's effort has very little effect on plans for the coming

year, although it may have an effect on planning for subsequent years.

Nevertheless, preliminary reports based on the 1968-69 data collection were completed early in the winter of 1970 and were reviewed at a meeting held in Menlo Park on Feb. 12 - 14, 1970. The reactions to these reports were somewhat unenthusiastic. To some extent, the reports were premature in that these were the first tabulations of data that had been completed. Thus, there was an absence of interpretation included in the reports so that a naive reader felt somewhat overwhelmed by the sheer volume of data.

More importantly, to those reviewers and sponsors who were convinced of the advantages of Follow Through, the preliminary results based on a single year's experience were disappointing. They failed to demonstrate that the Follow Through children were making any impressive gains when compared to the non-Follow Through classes. However, those who had any close association with local projects were able to point out that the first year for most projects was a very difficult one. In addition to the fact that sponsors' programs were still in the process of development, there were many difficulties that had to be ironed out prior to the successful implementation of a local project. Thus, there was reason to assume that the first year for any project should be treated as a special implementation year. As a corollary, one could assume that data for the first year were more indicative of the problems of implementation than they were of the advantages of a successfully implemented program.[20]

As a result of these discussions, the suggestion was made that perhaps data should not be collected on any project during its first year on the basis since these data would be inevitably misleading; i.e., the evaluation of a project would begin only after the completion of an implementation year. A decision on this issue was postponed for the time being and finally made at a subsequent meeting in June. At that time it was agreed that this principle of an implementation year would be adopted. As a consequence, it was also agreed that the 1968-69 data would not be used and that the data based upon this year's experience would not be published. Note that this decision appeared to be a very sensible one. The one unfortunate consequence was that a major portion of SRI's effort during the first year was being discarded and that SRI was put into the position of not yet having available any tangible evidence of their efforts in the form of a published progress report.

---

[20] Our own experience with local projects certainly confirms the assumption that first-year results of any project can be quite misleading and give little indication of the results to be expected from a fully implemented program.

3. There were some other closely related issues concerning the type of before-and-after design that was to be used in evaluating local projects and sponsor programs. All projects conformed to the general pattern that children entered Follow Through in either kindergarten or the first grade and would complete their Follow Through experience at the end of the third grade. Clearly, one interesting set of analyses would be based on the total 3 or 4 year experience. Having agreed to define 1968-69 as an implementation year, how long would one have to wait for the first cohort of children to graduate from Follow Through? The first available cohort that began in the first grade would graduate in Spring, 1972 and those beginning with kindergarten would graduate in Spring 1973. More importantly, one has to assume that there will be nearly a year's delay between the graduation date of a cohort and the publication of a report. Thus, the earliest report based on the full 3 or 4 year experience could not be expected until

Spring 1973, approximately five years after the initiation of the contract with SRI.

At a meeting held in April, 1970, a number of issues about this before-and-after design were reviewed. The possibility of discarding the before measures was considered and rejected. The advantage would have been that the field effort could have been reduced as well as the annual budget. Unfortunately, an after-only design would be justified only if one could assume comparability between experimental and control groups. By this time it was clear that this assumption was not warranted.

Another issue discussed had to do with the significance to be attached to data for a portion of the Follow Through experience, such as the changes that might occur over a one or two-year period. There was general agreement that it would be unwise to reach conclusions based on less than the full 3 or 4 year experience and, in particular, that sponsor evaluation should be based only on the full Follow Through experience. Based on this line of reasoning, an agreement was reached to place primary emphasis on testing upon entrance into the program and upon graduation and to reduce substantially the amount of testing at intermediate points in time. The effect of this decision was that for several projects there would be data at the entrance to kindergarten and at the end of the third grade, but none collected during the first or second grades.

This procedure had its advantages as well as disadvantages. There were economic advantages and it helped to reduce the friction that sometimes developed between local projects and SRI. Some projects resented the disruptive effects of the testing program and the effect of this decision was to reduce the amount of disruption. There was another advantage that was less obvious. With this design, it ought to be possible to protect the sponsors and projects from a premature evaluation (i.e. prior to 1973 or perhaps 1974) since the data upon which a partial evaluation might be based would not be available. As we shall see, it would not be possible to protect sponsors or projects in this way.

The disadvantages were to become apparent only at a later time. For example, at a later time, a decision was made to publish data for the period 1969-1971 in which analyses by sponsor and by project would be included. In that report, there were projects for which there were available baseline data for 1969-70 but no intermediate data for 1970-71 and these projects had to be eliminated from the analysis. By reducing the collection of data at intermediate points, it became more difficult to look at sequential effects over the full Follow Through experience. Indeed, these intermediate level data would be potentially relevant to a formative analysis of sponsor programs and to hypotheses about certain differential effects of sponsor programs to be assessed at intermediate points in time.

These are some of the more important decisions that were made about the experimental design during 1969-71. Other significant changes were still to be introduced in 1971 and these will be reviewed subsequently.

Transitions into Crisis

In September, 1971, we had an opportunity to visit SRI and to talk with a number of members of their staff. This was a deceptive period in their history. On the one hand, there was a sense of modest achievement based on the accomplishments of the past two years. On the other hand, there was an awareness that SRI's relationship to Follow Through had been deteriorating over the past few months. We can interpret the sense of achievement as the end product of the preceding period of consolidation and reorganization. It was more difficult to assess the significance of this deterioration in relationships and at that time SRI was inclined to hope that relationships had at least been stabilized. Yet, as we write one year later, it was clear that the period of Dec. 1970 to September 1971 could also be viewed as transitional leading into a period of crisis. Let us first review what had been accomplished during the period of consolidation and then review some of the key predisposing incidents that were about to lead into a period of crisis and reorganization.

Some accomplishments.

1. The objectives of the SRI evaluation effort had been clarified and revised. The new objectives were at once more modest as well as more achievable. SRI was now more nearly committed to a summative evaluation and the possible formative aspects of the evaluation had been minimized. Moreover, the hope that data could be analyzed rapidly enough to be of help to projects and sponsors had been more or less abandoned as unrealistic.

2. Through a process of trial and error and of success and failure, the scope of the evaluation had been limited to place primary emphasis on the assessment of cognitive change as well as on attitudinal changes in parents, teachers, and children. Although a program of classroom observations was continuing and some noncognitive testing was being included, little emphasis would continue to be placed on expanding the emphasis on noncognitive change or on a program of institutional and social change.

3. As the end product of a series of internal reorganizations, SRI was now much better prepared to meet some difficult production and managerial responsibilities. These were for the preparation of a series of semi-annual test batteries, for maintaining an elaborate field staff for carrying out its program of data collection in the field, and for controlling costs and making accurate cost estimates.

4. Additional resources had been allocated to certain administrative functions, particularly for maintaining relationships between SRI and Follow Through and for attempting to provide for better internal coordination of effort.

5. Finally, there was a clearer identification of the subtasks that had to be carried out as part of the evaluation effort. Responsibility for carrying out these subtasks had been allocated and the deadlines within which certain products had to be completed had been clarified.

The net effect is that life within SRI was becoming more predictable and certain uncertainties about the future were being minimized. On the other hand, since the scope of the work had diminished, some members of the SRI staff found that the work was becoming less challenging and less exciting.

Some predisposing incidents. We had indicated previously that one stage of development comes to an end when evidence accumulates that invalidates the adequacy of a particular form of organization. Under some circumstances, the evidence invalidates relationships within the organization itself; under other circumstances, the evidence invalidates relationships between the organization and other subsystems with which the organization must interact. With respect to SRI, the difficulties that began to arise were not internal to the SRI effort; rather they related to the relationship that existed between SRI and Follow Through as well as to Follow Through's relationship with other parts of the Office of Education and the Federal Government.

Assuming that the relationship between SRI and Follow Through had been relatively stable during the period of Fall 1969 through Summer 1971, how would one characterize that relationship and what circumstances were beginning to suggest that it might have to change? For most of this period, this had been a highly collaborative effort based upon mutual respect and trust. Moreover, as a consequence of the attempt to work collaboratively, there had been considerable interaction between the two parties, considering the fact that they were separated by a distance of 3000 miles.

By way of contrast, the relationship between Follow Through and sponsors was rather different, based upon a well-defined division of responsibility. Sponsors had an opportunity to collaborate in the making of certain decisions. Yet, by and large, they had been delegated the responsibility for implementing their programs and were reasonably free of any detailed supervision in carrying out that responsibility. For example, Follow Through staff often had private opinions and preferences about different sponsors' programs as well as private evaluations of sponsors' competences, but they tended to maintain a position of benign neutrality in their dealings with sponsors. Within broad limits, sponsors would be judged by the consequences of their efforts. Of course, there were annual contract negotiations with sponsors but these negotiations proceeded fairly straightforwardly and there was very little interference with a sponsor for the duration of any given contract. A major reason for this benign neutrality was that sponsor programs were the key element in the Follow Through experiment and that it was perfectly appropriate to expect that some sponsors would succeed while others might fail. That's what one meant by planned variation.

SRI's effort was not viewed as experimental in the same sense (perhaps it should have been). There was certainly no provision for alternate evaluation efforts and by implication the SRI effort had to be "successful." At any rate, as a somewhat secondary consequence of this emphasis on collaboration, there did not develop any clear cut delegation of responsibility to SRI for carrying out the evaluation effort. To an outside observer, it sometimes appeared as if Follow Through was directing the evaluation effort and as if SRI's responsibility was limited to that of carrying out these directions. Perhaps we are exaggerating but we are trying to suggest the following:

1. It was difficult to reach agreements about an acceptable division of responsibility such that SRI directed the effort and Follow Through monitored their progress.

2. As a result, decision making about all important aspects of the evaluation was the joint responsibility of Follow Through and SRI, with Follow Through often having the more decisive influence.

3. Follow Through tended to communicate the judgment that they were at least as competent as SRI in taking responsibility for the evaluation effort (and perhaps they were).

Nevertheless, for a period of time, both parties managed to operate within this relationship with some degree of success. Then, why should the relationship have begun to deteriorate?

1. Towards the end of the period of consolidation, it became abundantly apparent that the evaluation effort would have to be narrower in scope than had been originally planned. Specifically, efforts in the areas of non-cognitive testing and institutional change had been rather unsuccessful. Follow Through had to acknowledge that these portions of the evaluation effort would have to be discontinued. This was very disappointing since Follow Through had believed all along that these efforts were essential to a balanced and fair program of evaluation. Moreover, Follow Through had made commitments to sponsors that these efforts would be included and it was embarrassing to have to acknowledge that these commitments could not be honored.

2. During Spring, 1970, SRI and Follow Through were in the midst of contract negotiations to cover activities for the year 1970-71. As one aspect of these negotiations two external reviews were carried out of the SRI effort. Although the reviews were more favorable than otherwise, they raised some questions about the performance of SRI and about the joint responsibilities of SRI and Follow Through for the evaluation effort. What is particularly significant is that the reviews were initiated by the office of Program Planning and Evaluation (PP and E) of the Bureau of Elementary and Secondary Education (BESE) to whom Follow Through was directly responsible and are indicative of the fact that questions were being raised about the total Follow Through effort by its superiors.

The first portion of this review was held in May, 1970 and it was carried out by a panel of educators and psychologists chaired by Dr. Milton Goldberg, Director of Early Childhood Programs for the Philadelphia School District. A portion of the recommendations made by this panel on which there was substantial agreement is as follows:

"I. SRI's effort.

Recommendation: SRI should continue its Follow Through evaluation effort through 1970-71....

II. Evaluation and design.

A. Recommendation: Policy questions and program objectives should be identified as clearly as possible....

B. Recommendation: The 1970-71 evaluation should include statements of Follow Through impact on outcome variables....

IV. Information feedback

A. Recommendation: Mechanisms for providing informational feedback from SRI should be more clearly defined and implemented."[21]

---

[21] M. Goldberg. Summary review of the SRI evaluation of the Follow Through Program. May, 1970. Mimeo. Pp. 1-5.

There were some additional recommendations under the heading of "Organizational and Consultative Assistance" on which there was not a consensus. The more important of these are as follows:

"A. Prior to further arrangements related to evaluation a panel should be convened to work with SRI and Follow Through officials in mapping next year's (1971-72) evaluation plan or PPE should obtain advice and assistance in project reformulation.

B. A nucleus of consultative support should be maintained over a period of time to assist the Follow Through office and SRI in the evaluation with specialist-consultants being made available for particular issues; and that the PPE section of BESE and OEO provide ex-officio representation to this ongoing consultative group.

C. The relationship between SRI and PPE should be strengthened and SRI's evaluation should be independent of the administration of Follow Through by that staff at OE."[22]

Interestingly enough, some reservations were also expressed at this time about Follow Through's reluctance to make direct evaluative comparisons of sponsors or of projects and to the effects of this policy on SRI's plans for analysis of the data. Thus, one could predict that Follow Through's ability to protect sponsors and projects from a "premature evaluation" might soon come to an end.

Also as part of this review, a second panel met to review the management of the evaluation effort. Their findings gave considerable support to SRI while making a number of detailed suggestions about the administration of the evaluation effort.

In addition to the fact that a variety of criticisms were made, there are two important implications that can be drawn from these reviews. First of all, 1970-71 would mark the third year of SRI's evaluation effort. During that third year, it might be appropriate to issue a Request for Proposals (RFP) for continuing the effort and to consider the possibility that SRI might be replaced by another contractor. A second implication was that some criticisms were being raised about Follow Through as well as SRI and particularly that Follow Through should be exercising more effective supervision over the SRI effort. Alternatively, there was the implication that someone in addition to Follow Through (or instead of) should be responsible for the evaluation.

---

[22] Goldberg, op.cit., p. 6.

3. SRI was now beginning to produce products (reports) based on its first two years of data collection and there was some dissatisfaction with these reports. Moreover, there had been continuing friction between SRI and Follow Through over the timing of these reports and their contents.

To be specific, drafts of a first set of reports entitled "Longitudinal Evaluation of the National Follow Through Program, July 1968 through November 1969" had been reviewed in February 1970. These are the reports that were never published because of the decision to treat this first year as an implementation year. Accordingly, there was relatively little disappointment over this set of reports because of their fragmentary and preliminary nature. However, aspirations for a second set of reports, based on the 1969-70 data, were higher. Moreover, one effect of the May, 1970 reviews by the external panel had been to warn Follow Through of the importance of this second set of reports and to make it all the more important that they be completed on time.

Accordingly, during June 1970, SRI and Follow Through reviewed plans for these reports and agreed that drafts should be completed by the middle of September 1970. In retrospect, this deadline was not wholly realistic although there was certainly a justification for these reports being available as soon as possible. Undoubtedly, the decision to issue an RFP and to look for alternatives to SRI would depend on the quality of this report.

Moreover, it would take time to write an adequate RFP and it should be issued by January or February, 1971 if there were to be any hope of obtaining an alternative contractor for Fall 1971. Parenthetically, we would like to point out that individuals, including those writing reports, continually underestimate the time and effort that are required in preparing an acceptable report. In addition to the time required for writing, one first has to have data available in processed form and then to have a suitable opportunity to reflect on the data and to assimilate it.

At any rate, preparation of these reports continued during the Summer and Fall of 1970 and the main report plus six secondary reports as appendices was finally issued with the date March 1971.[23] Drafts of the report had been reviewed in late Fall 1970 and had not been accepted at that time. Thus, it was a period of considerable stress for SRI as they attempted to obtain approval for these reports. Moreover, these reports, when available, represented additional evidence of the narrowing scope of the evaluation effort and of the difficulties in the areas of institutional change and noncognitive testing.

4. During this same period, Follow Through was coming under increasing scrutiny from its superiors and the difficulties Follow Through was having within OE were clearly leading to complications between Follow Through and SRI. As is discussed in Chapter V, Follow Through reports directly through the Division of Compensatory Education to the Bureau of Elementary and Secondary Education, although it is potentially responsible to a number of other offices and agencies (see Figure 5-3 for more details). For an extensive period of time, Egbert appears to have functioned as a kind of buffer between Follow Through and its supervisors.[24] He was able to main-

---

[23] Longitudinal Evaluation of Selected Features of the National Follow Through Program. Menlo Park: Stanford Research Institute, March, 1971.

[24] We use the term "supervisors" loosely to refer to the complex chain of command to which Egbert was responsible, some portions of which were outside of OE as well as OEO.

tain the respect and confidence of these individuals. As a result, Follow Through enjoyed considerable freedom of operation and its activities were monitored only in a very general way. Egbert's style was one that emphasized informality and he tended to create an atmosphere in which everyone involved with Follow Through — Branch staff, sponsors, projects, etc. — felt that they were participants in an exciting and pioneering effort. Indeed, there is reason to believe that Follow Through enjoyed a very good reputation within OE. Nevertheless, from our interviews as well as an examination of some of the available correspondence, it is clear that some supervisors had reservations. In particular, there was concern over the progress being made by the evaluation effort and over its management. Moreover, there was an awareness that at some point in time, Follow Through would have to show results and that SRI would play a key role in such a demonstration. For example, here is a relevant quotation from an OEO letter to Egbert dated June 19, 1969: "I have reviewed the SRI proposal and I concur that the evaluation contract should be extended as you propose.--- But the time will soon arrive when some decision is going to have to be made about a major national expansion of the Follow Through program. Indeed, such decisions are already being made. If the SRI evaluation does not provide some better basis than we now have for helping us decide how such an expansion should be made, it will have failed. It is therefore essential that despite the enormous methodological and practical difficulties which the project faces, and despite the fact that we can confidently say in advance that its results will not provide air-tight or incontestable answers, we must nevertheless insure that it will produce results which are informative to the key decisions that are going to have to be made."[25]

There were other supervisors who were impressed with the Follow

---

[25] Note that the author of this letter had been a consistently strong supporter of the SRI effort. What is significant is his emphasis on decisions soon to be made and on the availability of data that could be used in making these decisions.

Through program and its leadership but had reservations about their ability to administer the variety of activities for which they were responsible. Some officials within OE were also aware that the General Accounting Office (GAO) had been asked to carry out a study on the "Need for Improving the Administration of Study and Evaluation Contracts," the purpose of which "--- was directed toward ascertaining whether the policies and procedures followed by the Office of Education in administering study and evaluation contracts were adequate for ensuring that the information obtained would serve the intended purpose effectively."[26] When published, this report was dated August 16, 1971, although it is clear that it had been available within HEW and OE at least as early as May, 1971. Although the report was quite critical of a number of projects, some specific comments were made about Follow Through. "The $7 million study of the national Follow Through program is another example of the need for more specific statements of contract objectives and requirements."[27] Elsewhere, they concluded that "--- had more specific work statements been included ---, the chances of the Office of Education's receiving a better product would have been increased substantially. As previously discussed, agency officials advised us during our review that they planned to develop a specific work statement for the $7 million contract and to establish a team of experts to monitor the contract. We believe that the Office of Education should follow up on the implementation of these actions."[28]

---

[26] We should make clear that Follow Through is only one of the projects discussed in this report and much more critical comments were made about certain other projects.

[27] Comptroller General of the United States. Report to the Congress: Need for Improving the Administration of Study and Evaluation Contracts. August, 1971, p. 16.

[28] Op. cit., p. 18.

It would appear that questions were being raised about the administration of the Follow Through program and particularly the SRI contract rather than about the substance of the program. Moreover, superiors were beginning to exercise more direct control over the Follow Through effort.

5. There is one final set of predisposing circumstances that had to do with the writing of an RFP for the renewal of the evaluation contract. The effect of the RFP would be to solicit competitive bids for the coming year, with SRI being simply one of the competitors. After a variety of informal discussions within Follow Through, drafts of various portions of an RFP were written.[29] These were reviewed at a meeting held in early March, 1971 called by Follow Through and attended by a number of outside consultants. The meeting had the effect of airing some of the criticisms of SRI and tended to crystallize some of the feelings of disappointment with the evaluation effort. Yet, some consultants expressed the opinion that the initial aspirations of the evaluation effort had been highly unrealistic and that SRI's performance was reasonably adequate when assessed against a more realistic set of aspirations. The results of the meeting were inconclusive. It clearly would be difficult to complete an acceptable RFP, one that would be sufficiently informative to a potential contractor. Moreover, there was the possibility that it was already too late in the sense that the RFP should already have been issued or should be issued within two or three weeks at the very latest. And it seemed unlikely that an RFP could be completed and approved in order to meet such a stringent deadline. Finally, it was both discouraging and disturbing to think of the disruptive effects of transferring the evaluation contract to another contractor. Follow Through had an enormous investment in SRI which could not be easily transferred. At this time, the possibility was also considered

---

[29] A parallel and somewhat competitive effort to write an RFP was also undertaken by BESE.

of dividing up the evaluation effort into parts, leaving some with SkI while others might be delegated to another contractor of contractors. For example, would it be feasible to write separate contracts to support programs on noncognitive measurement and institutional change?

These are the major predisposing conditions that were leading to a deterioration in the relationship between Follow Through and SRI. Prior to this period, Follow Through was continuing to work collaboratively with SRI and to attempt to change their behavior by evolutionary means, by attempting to modify an existing organization so that it would function more effectively. Moreover, the issues were primarily between SRI and Follow Through in which these parties were trying to accommodate to each other's wishes. After these predisposing incidents, there developed a serious willingness to consider a broader range of alternatives for change, and to consider change by more revolutionary means as, for example, by replacing SRI with a wholly different organization or by taking away certain responsibilities from SRI to be given to other contractors. Moreover, these was a much more explicit awareness of the presence of other agencies whose interests must also be satisfied and of the possibility that this collaborative relationship be significantly altered.

Shortly after this meeting, there began a complex series of events which had the effect of precipitating a period of crisis for SRI. These events were precipitating in the following sense. The predisposing conditions had raised some doubts about the relationship between Follow Through and SRI but, for a period of time, the implications of these doubts had not crystallized. As a result, no critical decisions were made. The effect of the precipitating events was to make it essential that certain decisions would have to be made; in making these decisions, the doubts became relevant and began to have an influence. In what follows, we will attempt only to document some of the major events as they took place.

Late in January, the Assistant Commissioner for Program Planning and Evaluation and the Bureau of Elementary and Secondary Education, through their Office of Program Planning and Evaluation, instituted an independent review of SRI, one objective of which was to consider the possibility that an RFP should be prepared for the coming year. This effort was carried out through a subcontract with Pacific Educational Evaluation Systems (PEES), a consulting firm located on the West Coast. In addition, PEES was to review the SRI activities and to make recommendations about them. Note that this activity was not initiated by Follow Through nor were they in control of it. The situation was complicated by the fact that Dr. Egbert had announced in November, 1970, that he had accepted a position as Dean of Education at the University of Nebraska, and that he would be leaving on 1 July, 1971. Moreover, no one knew who his replacement would be and there was reason to believe that his replacement would not be chosen from among the Follow Through staff. As part of this review, representatives from PEES net with staff members from SRI, Follow Through, as well as a number of officials from OE on March 11-12, 1971, in Menlo Park. The purpose of this meeting was to review the total SRI effort from 1968 to the present.

The PEES report, when submitted to the Bureau of Elementary and Secondary Education, had a number of critical observations to make about SRI, although some of their comments reflected as well on the relationship that had developed between Follow Through and SRI. Some of the more interesting observations are as follows:

1. With respect to the staffing of the SRI project, the PEES report expressed the opinion "that SRI has been seriously understaffed at the upper

technical-professional levels on this project. Sorensen and Madow have carried, almost entirely, the technical and administrative responsibility for the project. A project of this size and duration surely deserves the full-time attention of recognized experts in evaluation. We believe that SRI has relied too heavily on consultants and in-house utility staff."[30]

2. With respect to the problems of size and scope, the PEES report noted that

> "Occasionally projects get so large that they are unmanageable. Perhaps USOE should consider that future projects of this type be divided into thirds or fourths, perhaps based on geographical area and use separate organizations, with a co-ordinated evaluation plan. Behavioral scientists are often unable to cope with large samples and heavy field organization situations (exceptions are ETS and others who do national testing). There is no over-riding reason why a project of this importance and magnitude needed to be housed in one spot."[31]

3. Elsewhere, concerning the establishment and maintenance of schedules, they indicated that "a list of tangible deliverables and a schedule for the major steps in their production should be amended to the contract....Those elements that require O.E. approval or consultation should be clearly specified in advance. The dates by which that approval or consultation is expected should also be clearly specified. If O.E. program staff cannot meet their part of the schedule due to understaffing (which seems likely), a Technical Colleague procedure or something similar

---

[30] Pacific Educational Evaluation Systems. Letter to Bureau of Elementary and Secondary Education, no date, p. 1.

[31] PEES, op.cit., p. 2.

should be established."[32]

4. Throughout the report, there are consistent criticisms of what we have referred to elsewhere as the collaborative effort for the management of the Follow Through evaluation, which PEES refers to as the "joint-venture mode of operation." Indeed, they suggest that this method of operation should be avoided. Interestingly enough, in this report there are no suggestions that a joint venture is bad in principle but rather that it introduced serious complications into the administration of the SRI evaluation. Consider, for example, the following:

> "The joint venture understanding has left SRI vulnerable to unscheduled requests for special reports and other demands on the time of the project staff. There are times when the contracting agency should simply butt out, leaving the contractor alone long enough to complete the work which has been agreed upon.
>
> "Another aspect of this relationship which is common among many other contractors working for O.E. is the problem of approvals and decisions. SRI has time and again been pushed to "last possible" deadline dates because of an inability to get approvals and decisions from the "joint venture" participants in O.E. In small projects this is an annoying problem; in large projects with hundreds of people involved, it is intolerable. Future relationships should be based upon the understanding that the contractor will put reasonable time constraints for accepting all O.E. reactions, approvals, and decisions. If no O.E. reaction has been received by a particular date, the contractor should proceed,

---

[32] PEES, op. cit., p. 3-4.

using his best judgment, and not be penalized should it differ from O.E. recommendations made at a later date."[33]

Parenthetically, we might add that a number of our informants have suggested that SRI was much too cooperative in accepting advice and suggestions from Follow Through: i.e., that there were times when they should have said "no". This suggestion is quite consistent with the implications of the PEES report. Again, we should emphasize that this is not necessarily a criticism of the substance of the Follow Through suggestions but rather of the administrative consequences and of the effect on SRI's ability to set and maintain a reasonable work schedule.

Late in March, 1971, those responsible for the OE evaluation of the SRI contract reached a decision that SRI should be permitted to continue as a sole source contractor for an additional year and that an RFP would not be written. Their main recommendation is as follows:

> "As a result of our activities to date, we strongly recommend the continuation of the longitudinal evaluation of Follow Through with the Stanford Research Institute for the following reasons: 1) It does not seem prudent at the half way point in the evaluation study to change contractors particularly in light of the large investment in terms of experience, and knowledge of the program which has been accrued by SRI. 2) We feel there are few contractors in this country with the capability and knowledge to conduct the Follow Through evaluation, and very little would be gained by changing contractors at this point in time."[34]

---

[33] PEES, op. cit., p. 6.

[34] USOE Internal Memorandum, April 12, 1971.

However, the review of SRI would continue and appropriate administrative changes might be recommended at a later date. In addition, the Follow Through Branch was asked to prepare a work statement covering the SRI activities for the coming year. Accordingly, SRI continued to prepare a proposal for 1971-72. After a series of discussions and revisions, the proposal was submitted on June 25, 1971, and approved in part on June 29, 1971. Note that, with only a five-day delay between receipt of the proposal and its approval, there was not sufficient time for any extensive review of the proposal.

Associated with the approval of this proposal for contract continuation, there were several important conditions that are worthy of mention.

1. Although responsibility for monitoring the SRI contract would remain within Follow Through, Don Rose, a staff member of PP and E/BESE, was named as project officer for the contract.

2. The contract continuation was for the period of 1 July, 1971, to 30 April, 1973. However, SRI was essentially authorized to incur costs and to continue its activities through 31 December, 1970. Thus, SRI would continue with its program of Fall, 1971, testing while decisions about additional work would be made at a later time.

3. Approval of the remainder of the contract would be based upon the following schedule of activities:

a) By September 17, 1971, SRI would submit a number of specific documents to clarify its proposal. These were to include: "Analysis Plan, Detailed Outline of the Consumer's Guide, Sample Design for Spring, 1972, Cost Feasibility Study, Detail Plans for Instrument Design and Data Collection, and Cost Proposal and Consolidated Schedules."[35]

---

[35] USOE Internal Memorandum, October 7, 1971.

b) Further negotiations as to the scope of work were scheduled for the week of October 4, 1971, in Washington, D.C.

A Period of Crisis

The decisions that we have just described may be viewed as a kind of "holding action" under which SRI could continue into the Fall while OE and Follow Through could continue their review of the SRI effort. The decisions were temporary in the sense that they had to be followed by additional decisions that would re-stabilize the relationship between SRI and Follow Through. We refer to this stage of development during which some more permanent decisions were being made as one of crisis for at least three reasons.

1) The major changes were externally initiated and represent Follow Through's attempt to stabilize some viable working relationships first with OE and secondly with SRI.

2) The effect of the changes was to define much more clearly a division of responsibility between Follow Through and SRI and, by implication, to bring to an end much of the joint venture that had previously been in operation.

3) As a secondary consequence, Follow Through was forced to make an explicit evaluation of each of the activities that had been included within the total evaluation effort. Certain activities received approval as having been substantially successful while certain others could not receive such an approval.

Beginning with July, 1971, there were a number of additional changes taking place within OE and Follow Through that were having an effect on SRI's relationship to Follow Through.

1. Soon after Don Rose was named project officer for the SRI contract, Ms. Rosemary Wilson was named as Acting Director of Follow Through and

still is functioning in this capacity. In August, 1971, Dr. Snyder accepted a temporary assignment within OE to work with a special task force. Since that time, there has been a series of acting directors, the first two of which were Fred Bresnick and Ned Chalker. A third acting director, Dr. Garry McDaniels, was named in November, 1971, and continued in this position until March, 1973. Thus, SRI began to deal with a new set of individuals, both of whom had been recruited from outside of Follow Through. It was at this time (July, 1971) that Mr. Harvey Dixon officially assumed the title of Project Administrator, although he had been effectively functioning in that capacity for some time. Interestingly, the formalization of his role was at the request of PP and E. However, there has been some continuity to the relationship between Follow Through and SRI in that three individuals, Judy Burnes, Don Burnes, and Ned Chalker, who had been associated with Follow Through for some time, continued to have important responsibilities for the monitoring of the SRI contract.

2. On July 27 - 30, 1971, SRI was the host at a conference to which sponsors, projects, Follow Through, and OE officials had been invited. Some parents as well as state educational officials were also present. At this conference, SRI made some presentations concerning the analysis of data as well as plans for the coming year. There were also some discussions about the problem of providing for a feedback of information to local projects. These topics were within the framework of previous meetings at which issues concerning the mutual interests of SRI, sponsors, and projects were discussed.

But these issues were not the feature attraction. The most important event of the conference was a presentation by Mr. Richard Fairley, Director of the Division of Compensatory Education, of some long range plans for Follow Through and, in particular, of a five-year plan for its expansion.

A summary of the main features of this plan was included in Chapter II. This plan was important because it clarified some questions about the future of Follow Through. To the extent that it was perceived as a redirection of Follow Through, sponsors and local project representatives reacted with expressions of annoyance and anxiety. Perhaps less obvious was the fact that the evaluation effort would have to be redirected in order to conform to a more realistic set of objectives, taking into account this revised set of objectives for Follow Through. One important implication was the following: Whether one liked it or not, a successful sponsor's program would be one that could demonstrate effectiveness in the attainment of cognitive skills (reading, writing, and arithmetic). One might concede that such a definition could be criticized as unfair and unfortunately narrow — but it was "realistic." Realistic in what sense? In the sense that these were the criteria that could be expected to count with states, local school systems, as well as with those responsible for decisions about the funding of the program.

Note that this emphasis on cognitive skills had very different implications for sponsors and projects than it did for SRI. Some sponsors felt that promises had been broken and that they were left at a serious disadvantage. From SRI's point of view, one could infer an increased emphasis on a summative evaluation with less emphasis on the formative aspects of evaluation.

There was one very specific consequence for SRI of the five-year plan that was discussed at this conference. SRI was to prepare a Consumer's Guide, scheduled for publication in Spring, 1972. To elaborate, let us characterize state SEA's and local communities that might want to initiate a Follow Through project as potential consumers. Their problem is to choose amongst alternative products — the different sponsor programs. The purpose of the Consumer's Guide would be to assist potential consumers in making these choices. The guide would contain descriptive information about sponsors' programs and their relative effectiveness. There was the hope that the guide would make clear that different sponsors were emphasizing different objectives and were perhaps more successful in certain kinds of settings rather than in others. Then it would be up to the consumer to decide which objectives he would prefer to emphasize and to choose accordingly. In a sense, the Consumer's Guide was to make use of the data that would be included in the technical reports. But it would be less technical and written for a rather different purpose.

We will now try to summarize the major crises that arose during the next few months. However, let us first make clear that events in the past were beginning to have unintended consequences that left both Follow Through as well as SRI in a very precarious position. Moreover, there is a sense in which the Follow Through and OE staff had little choice except to pursue a course of action that created difficulties for SRI. They were in essence putting their own house in order and making themselves more open to public inspection. To be specific, Follow Through had enjoyed an extraordinary degree of freedom in the past which was now coming to an end. As a consequence, Follow Through was having to give a much more detailed justification for both its present as well as past activities. Follow Through had been able to operate with great informality in its dealings with SRI. This made it all the more difficult to document and verify past actions. Finally, no one had given sufficient thought to the possibility that both Ebgert and Snyder might be simulataneously unavailable. They had been responsible for the emphasis on a collaborative form of administration; in their absence, a new relationship between Follow Through and SRI began to develop that represented much less of a joint venture and much more of a clear-cut division of responsibilities.

The major crises were as follows:

1. Throughout the Summer and Early Fall of 1971, SRI continued to prepare those documents that had been requested when the contract period had been

extended. These were submitted to OE in September 1971, and subsequently reviewed by the staffs of Follow Through. BESE, the USOE Office of the Assistant Secretary of Planning and Evaluation as well as by a group of outside consultants. The reaction to them was quite negative and the documents were evaluated as not acceptable. A very detailed summary of comments as well as recommendations was made available in the form of a fourteen page memorandum.

In order to remedy the deficiencies of these two proposals, SRI was asked to prepare two additional sets of documents, one for delivery on 1 November 1971 and the other on 16 November 1971. The purpose of these documents was to specify in much greater detail what SRI proposed to do but also to give extensive documentation to what had been done in the past and to changes that had been introduced from one test battery to another, even though these changes had been previously authorized by Follow Through. The preparation of these reports was quite time-consuming for an already overburdened staff who felt that much of the information was already available in earlier proposals or reports.

Discussions on these proposals were not completed until late in December 1971 at which time agreement on a work statement for the remainder of 1971-72 was finally reached and this crisis over contract negotiations came to an end. As a final incident, during these December negotiations, it became apparent that the budget constraints within which SRI would have to operate would neither make it possible to carry out the activities proposed by SRI nor even all the activities that OE thought would be desirable. Agreement was reached with difficulty only after some compromises that involved the deletion of certain activities plus some reductions in the Spring 1972 testing had been introduced.

There were some desirable consequences for SRI from having completed this series of negotiations. They had managed to establish a reasonably satisfactory working relationship with PP and E. They had also established a much more detailed work schedule of what they were committed to accomplish along with a detailed set of deadlines. The negative implications were less obvious. One could easily interpret the movement toward closer control over SRI's activities and the emphasis on documentation for past decisions as evidence of an implied demotion for SRI and as raising questions about their competence.

On the other hand, there were advantages to this increasing emphasis on formalization. The informal relationship had been adequate as long as outsiders did not begin to raise serious questions about the management of the evaluation effort. However, OE as well as HEW were now on trial and attempting to adjust to an awkward situation. In the future, the contractual agreement would be more open to public and critical scrutiny and this would be advantageous for SRI as well as Follow Through in demonstrating their ability to manage the contract.

2. A second crisis revolved around a major reorientation to the relationship between Follow Through and SRI. There were two main consequences to this reorientation. One concerned a clarification and redefinition of the objectives and scope of the SRI effort. A second consequence of this reorientation was to bring to an end the joint venture or collaborative effort that had previously characterized the relationship and to move toward a more clearly defined division of responsibilities.

In November, 1971, Dr. Garry McDaniels had been appointed to the position of Acting Chief of the Research and Evaluation Section of Follow Through. He was immediately faced with the problem of making sense out of the complex relationship that existed between Follow Through and SRI while, at the same time, responding to the criticisms that were being made about the management of the evaluation. Initially, his position was complicated by the fact that Follow Through no longer functioned as Project Officer for the SRI contract. However, at the December, 1971, review of the SRI proposals, undertaken in Menlo Park, a somewhat unexpected announcement was made that full responsibility for the evaluation effort would be returned to Follow Through and that PP and E/BESE would no longer be involved as Project Officer.

During the period of November and early December, 1971, the Research and Evaluation Section completed its review of the SRI contract and began to make a series of recommendations. These were in the context that there were "four major research and evaluation areas where the quality of this project can be threatened: design, data collection, instrument selection and development, and data analysis and reporting."[36]

The more important recommendations were as follows:

1. Although responsibility for design had been shared in the part by SRI and Follow Through, this joint venture mode of operation did not appear to be workable. In the future, the responsibility for design would be assumed by Follow Through.

2. The conclusion was reached that SRI's data collection efforts had been successful. However, some review of the quality and reliability of the data collection effort would be undertaken as part of the Spring, 1972, testing.

3. The conclusion was reached that "SRI's capabilities in instrument development are quite limited." Accordingly, the following changes were

---

[36] Follow Through, Internal Memorandum, Dec. 10, 1971, p. 1.

introduced:

"(1) We have limited data collection for the spring to a minimum number of projects.

(2) We have eliminated some data collection activities altogether (e.g. the collection of cost data).

(3) We have required SRI to make arrangements with an outside group for the development of the teacher and aide questionnaires.

(4) USOE has assumed responsibility for test selection.

(5) We will carefully review all instruments submitted for use this Spring, and will eliminate entire data collection activities if the instruments do not meet appropriate standards of quality."[37]

4. Finally, there was a review of SRI's difficulties in the area of data analysis, leading to the conclusion that "Unless someone in USOE presents a defense of SRI's qualitative ability in data analysis, the decision to fund a proposed analysis of the data collected this Spring (1972) must be deferred. A deferred decision means that the 1971-72 data analysis will not be included in this contract, and that we will either amend this contract or invite bidding on this one task later. In either case, SRI will have their 1972 report, deliverable in February, as a demonstration of capacity. The quality of this report will have the potential for providing a sound base for decision making."[38]

There were two related developments that were to lead to a further decrease in the scope of the SRI evaluation effort. First, in December, 1971, a contract was written with The Huron Institute, a group of educational consultants with close ties to the Harvard School of Education, entitled,

---

[37] Follow Through, op. cit., p. 1-2.

[38] Follow Through, op. cit., p. 3-4.

"Proposal to Assist Follow Through Research and Development in Planning Overall Evaluation Strategy". Since Follow Through would take over full responsibility for the design of the evaluation, this group would provide support for the development of appropriate plans. The main statement of purpose was as follows:

> "The plans will identify specific sample selection recommendations, procedures for ensuring that the data collected be as reliable and valid as possible, and the analytic strategies to be used in evaluating the resulting data."[39]

One related development was that in Spring, 1972, OE issued an RFP to cover the analysis of data for the period July 1969 through June 1972. Note that these would be the first data that would include a group of children who had graduated from Follow Through — those children entering first grade in 1969-70 and leaving the third grade in Spring 1972. SRI submitted a proposal in response to this RFP, along with several other contractors. In June 1972, it was announced that the contract had been awarded to Abt Associates, a group of educational consultants located in Cambridge, Mass., who would henceforth be responsible for the analysis of the data that had been collected by SRI. This decision was made after all proposals had been reviewed by an outside, technical panel and the Abt proposal had received a strong endorsement from that panel.

Key staff members at SRI were somewhat discouraged by these developments, particularly those who were responsible for the administration of the project as well as those who had been closely associated with design and data analysis. Yet these developments were consistent with criticisms that had been made in the past. More importantly, these changes were indicative of the fact that the rules of the game were changing and that the collaborative effort would no longer be in operation.

---

[39] The Huron Institute, Proposal to Assist Follow Through, December, 1971, p. 1.

3. The third crisis had to do with the extraordinary amount of work that SRI was trying to accomplish during this period and particularly to the fact that SRI was being asked to prepare some special reports in addition to carrying out those regular activities to which they were routinely committed. In the past, it had been difficult enough to complete their regular commitments on schedule; the imposition of additional commitments placed a very serious strain on their resources. The regular commitments were as follows: to carry out the Fall, 1971, data collection, to complete the reports based on the 1969-1971 analyses of data and to complete the analyses of data for these reports, to complete a draft of the consumer's guide,[40] and to complete a proposal for the coming year. This was a formidable schedule of work and it was particularly important to SRI that they concentrate on the preparation of the technical reports based on the 1969-71 data. Superimposed on this work load were a number of special commitments, the magnitude of which had been seriously underestimated. These included the following. There were those documents prepared during the fall in order to justify past activities and to complete negotiations for the 1971-72 activities. There was also a progress report of preliminary findings from the 1970-71 data, to be submitted by September 1, 1971, for use by Follow Through as part of their budget presentations to OMB. There was an additional progress report requested for early January, 1972, for use by Follow Through and the Division of Compensatory Education, to be used as

---

[40] By February, 1972, this requirement had been relaxed. Instead SRI produced "A Preliminary Guide to Follow Through" as one of its progress reports.

part of an annual report to Congress. Finally, there was the document in response to the RFP outlining SRI's proposal for data analysis of the 1969-1972 data. The progress report prepared for the January report to Congress presented some special problems. In order to complete the report on time, SRI chose to focus attention primarily on pupils from Cohort I who met the OEO definitions of "poor". Pupils not meeting these criteria were excluded. As a result, some separate computer runs were necessary which could not be used as part of the regular set of technical reports that was being prepared.

The SRI staff found it difficult to meet all of these requirements. They were continually in a state of anxiety over meeting each of these successive deadlines. There was also the impression that the extra documents made little contribution to the SRI effort although they may have been of value to Follow Through. Finally, there was the increasing anxiety that these extra requirements were interfering with the main activities for which SRI was responsible and particularly with the completion of those technical reports upon which their performance would be evaluated.

4. There was another crisis of a rather different character that arose in May, 1972. At some earlier time, this evaluation contract as well as the Head Start evaluation contract had come to the attention of a group associated with Ralph Nader, the Center for Study of Responsive Law. In a letter dated May 24, 1972, this group wrote to HEW Secretary Elliot Richardson suggesting that "SRI's failure of performance was far worse than that to be expected for any national research organization." They also indicated that "---instead of guaranteeing an income for SRI, HEW terminate payments under the two contracts, seek refunds for past waste, and initiate proceedings to determine whether SRI should be debarred from

the privilege of contracting with HEW."[41]

In this letter, there was a variety of accusations, many of which were somewhat out of context. For example, a quotation from the report of one of the many outside consultants who had reviewed the SRI work was included and this quotation was quite critical. What was not included was that the panel, of which this consultant was a member, had unanimously recommended that the SRI contract be continued.

Elliot Richardson, secretary of HEW, replied in a letter to these charges on June 28, 1972. He first pointed out that "In the past 18 months, the Office of Education and the Department have been alert to the concerns you raise. Thus, at the outset, it is worthwhile to outline steps already taken to improve administration and effectiveness of these contracts." In his letter, he then made reference to the following changes.

> "...Scope of work on the projects has been reduced so that SRI is performing mainly as a data collector, and their analysis tasks are being phased out.
>
> ...In response to GAO's criticism, the Office of Education has specified detailed objectives for SRI in continuing data collection tasks. Performance difficulties in the past resulted, in part, from a failure of the Office of Education to give SRI adequate, specific guidance.
>
> ...Constitution of a review panel for the SRI evaluation contract in the Office of Child Development has been followed by establishment of another such panel in the Office of Education. Staff of the Office of the Assistant Secretary for

---

[41] These are quotations taken from the Education Daily, June 14, 1972, p. 3. The article had the provocative title of "Nader Group Seeks HEW Ouster of Stanford Research Institute".

Planning and Evaluation actively scrutinized both contracts through participation on these panels, and through other evaluation monitoring actions."

He next indicated that the following additional steps would be taken:

"...The HEW Audit Agency will do a complete review of HEW's administration of the OE/OCP-SRI contracts and of SRI's performance thereunder...a preliminary report due me by August 15.

...HEW staff will conduct a full review of alternative means to meet Follow Through-Head Start data collection needs.

...The Assistant Secretary for Planning and Evaluation will analyze alternative strategies for fiscal years 1973-1976 Follow Through-Head Start evaluation, with special attention paid to depth and breadth of data collection needs and their consequent costs."

Next, the Secretary indicated that "complete termination of the SRI contracts at this point in time would cause us to forfeit a data collection capability this fall, since it is too late to find and prepare an alternate collector. Thus, I am approving a limited extension of the SRI contracts to allow fall data collection." However, "No further contracts for these projects (except for fall data collection, as explained above) will be made with SRI, pending the outcome of the reviews I have requested from the Audit Agency and the Assistant Secretary for Planning and Evaluation."

One consequence of these accusations was that government auditors went over with great care all of the SRI records in order to determine the accuracy of some of the charges. It is beyond the scope of our report to comment on the technical competence of SRI. However, it is most important to note that SRI has apparently been able to satisfy government auditors and that the charges implying dishonesty in carrying out provisions of their contracts appear to be unfounded. Yet these accusations help to explain why SRI was being placed on trial and why this was such a discouraging period for the SRI staff members.

Finally, after the HEW Audit Agency had completed its review, the Secretary made a final reply in the form of a letter dated October 23, 1972. The conclusions that he reported were as follows:

"1. The HEW Audit Agency interim report suggests that the Office of Education may not have adequately planned and managed the SRI contract, a concern to which you alluded in your May 24 letter. As a result of audit work completed thus far, it is our conclusion that it is difficult to determine who was responsible for failures and shortcomings in the original arrangements -- whether OE, SRI, or both might have been at fault. In any event, thus far we can find no basis for debarring SRI from future contracts with OE or other components of the Department, as recommended in your letter of May 24.

2. Further, it is the recommendation of the Assistant Secretary for Planning and Evaluation -- a recommendation which I propose to follow -- that SRI be permitted to continue its present data collection effort through the present school year. This will involve an extension of the current data collection contract and will cover data collection and testing during the second half of the present academic year. The decision to use SRI for the spring data collection effort is based on the fact that SRI already has experienced staff in place who can continue the work through the academic year

> without interruption. We believe continuity and consistency of the data to be important both to the quality and timeliness of the work. We feel that it would be difficult to obtain another contractor without allowing time for him to recruit and place staff and to perfect his own data collection techniques. This could delay the project with no assurance of better quality. You will recall that in my letter of June 28 I advised that we were continuing to use SRI for fall data collection and testing. This is now in process. Once the data collection process is complete for this academic year, any future data collection will be performed following competitive bidding."

Thus, SRI was effectively exonerated of any serious charges and was permitted to continue for another year. However, they had been put through the embarrassment of public criticism and subjected to a rather burdensome audit. Moreover, approval for their plans for Spring, 1973, data collection had had to be delayed, subject to the completion of the review.

5. The final crisis relates to the contract negotiations for data collection during 1972-73. During these negotiations Follow Through proposed some changes in data collection which would have the effect of introducing major changes in the existing design and plans for analysis. The details of the changes are complex and would affect primarily the data collection for Spring, 1973. One change would be to eliminate from further consideration any projects in which Follow Through begins with the first

grade rather than kindergarten. The rationale is that American schools are moving toward a pattern of elementary education in which entrance into kindergarten is typical. Another change would affect plans for testing in the third grade, namely to retain only those sponsors for which there were at least three projects in which children entered in kindergarten in Fall 1969. The rationale is that there is considerable variability from project to project for a given sponsor: therefore, analyses for sponsors based on less than three projects are unreliable and untrustworthy. By way of compensation, additional testing in the third grade would be carried out for Cohort III (Spring 1976) so that additional sponsors could be evaluated after 1976. However, the immediate effect would be that only four sponsors would be retained for evaluation in Cohort I. In part, these changes had been recommended by the outside review committee that had reported in October, 1972.

The disagreement between Follow Through and SRI over these changes is only partly over the amount of funding to be made available to SRI. More importantly there are issues about which objectives should be emphasized at the expense of certain others. For example, one could justify Follow Through's position as follows. One should deemphasize the objective of preparing a summative evaluation and emphasize some important research questions of a more formative nature. Somewhat cynically, one might also suggest that the five-year plan has already been proposed. Only the larger sponsors are likely to participate in this transitional period as plans are being developed. Analyses based on the 1976 data would be completed in time to include additional successful sponsors as part of the ultimate expansion.

That changes were being introduced is completely consistent with the position taken that Follow Through had responsibility for the design of the evaluation plan . Moreover, these changes in design would make it possible to address certain policy issues that were of increasing importance, particularly in view of the five-year plan.

On the other hand, SRI had a major stake in the completion of a summative evaluation based on Cohorts I and II and on honoring their commitments to all sponsors. The effect of these changes, like other changes previously introduced would be to agree to discard for any future use some of the data that have already been collected. Thus, SRI would once again be vulnerable to the charge that some of their efforts have been wasteful and that nothing useful has been learned from a significant portion of their efforts at data collection. In light of their most recent difficulties, it is not surprising that SRI has resisted any changes that would add to the precariousness of their position.

This completes our review of the major crises occurring during the past year. What assessment would one now make of SRI as they begin another year of data collection? SRI has been successful in completing a set of technical reports based upon the 1969-1971 data. These reports identify sponsors for the first time but not projects and are currently being reviewed. In addition, SRI has managed to survive in spite of the charges of the past year as well as the detailed reviews by government auditors. The scope of their effort has been substantially reduced to that of a responsibility for data collection and with the data limited primarily to cognitive testing and classroom observations. Yet, the collection of data is the largest single activity for which SRI is responsible so that the project effort continues to be substantial. More importantly, the relationship between Follow Through and SRI has been stabilized although the nature of the relationship has altered from one of collaboration to a more conventional division of responsibility.

Indeed, over the period of a year, the capability of the data collection and data processing activities have continued to improve and they have begun to have increased status as the main SRI activity that will continue, along with a program of classroom observations. For example, Follow Through did carry out a review of the data collection activities, with a particular emphasis on the reliability of the operations. On the whole, the review team was favorably impressed and concluded that "The replication of their operation, while possible, might not be easy to carry out, especially if the replication was called for in a short time. Their operation is the product of much experience, and this experience remains useful to the Follow Through Program."[42]

In addition, the SRI staff continued to introduce a number of improvements, particularly in the area of data processing. An improved method for indexing the data was developed and, by introducing certain changes, SRI was able to accomplish a six-week reduction in the delay between the collection of the data and the availability of data tapes for use by the analysis contractor. It is also of significance to note that Richard Marciano succeeded to the position of Project Director, beginning in Fall, 1972, and that Marciano had been closely associated with the data collection-data processing activities, rather than with analysis and design.

What have been the effects on the SRI staff? In many respects, the change in relationship between SRI and Follow Through has had desirable consequences although the process by means of which these changes were accomplished was clearly one that was stressful for all concerned. Moreover, the effects on morale were partly a function of the particular responsibilities that one had in the SRI organization. Those who had been responsible for the administration of the project, for design and analysis, are more likely to be discouraged with the outcomes. On the other hand those closely associated with the data collection effort, the processing of the data, and the program of classroom observations are more likely to be encouraged and satisfied with the present state of affairs. These activities are the most successful and are most likely to continue without change.

---

[42] Follow Through, Internal Memorandum, Aug. 10, 1972.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE FOLLOW THROUGH BRANCH: ORGANIZATION AND FUNCTIONING

Introduction

Follow Through functions as a Branch within the Division of Compensatory Education of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. It is responsible for a program that spent $69,000,000 during the school year of 1971-72, among 173 community projects and reaching approximately 75,000 children. For these responsibilities, there is a staff of approximately thirty people. By comparison with other similar programs, this is a relatively small staff and it is not unreasonable to suggest that it is insufficient for the overall administration of the program. The Branch, as one component in the total Follow Through organization, is important for at least three reasons. (1) Having the administrative and policy-making responsibility for the program, the Branch establishes constraints within which all other components of the program must operate and, in this sense, exercises a profound influence on the functioning and evolution of the various components that make up the program. These constraints may be positively stated as objectives to be achieved or negatively in terms of what they prohibit. More importantly, one can not comprehend the behavior of the components (sponsors, projects, SRI) unless one takes into account these constraints and their consequences. (2) Since the Branch itself is not a free agent, it operates within a system of constraints which influences, first, the activities of the Branch and, secondly, activities of other components as the constraints operating on the Branch have influence on other components in the program. (3) Finally, the Branch acts in a supervisory capacity and attempts to influence in a very direct fashion the remainder of the program. To some extent, the Branch may provide support and one might want to suggest that it provide additional forms of support. On the other hand, it may also try to enforce certain behavior and to exercise coercion in order to obtain conformance. Thus, we need to review the functioning of the Branch itself, particularly as it affects the behavior and performance of all other components in the Follow Through program.

Branch Organization Through June, 1971

The year 1967-68 was a rather special year for the Branch in that it preceded the introduction of sponsors and the emphasis on planned variation. Its present organization dates back to Fall 1968 and is designed to deal with the program of planned variation. Through June, 1971, there was relative stability within the Branch. In what follows, we want to describe for this period the three sections that made up the Follow Through branch, how each functioned, and the relationships among them.

The three sections within the Branch were as follows: Program Management, Research and Evaluation, and Technical Assistance. To give some indication of the size of each section, an organizational chart of the Branch, accurate as of November, 1970, is given in Figure 5.1. At that time, there were twenty-six (26) regular employees, augmented by a small number of temporary employees, some of whom were technically on loan from some other division. Dr. Egbert has indicated that the staff during this initial period had been as high as thirty-two (32); he had plans for a staff of forty-six (46) but approval for that number has never been forthcoming. Considering the responsibilities assigned to this office, it would appear that they were significantly understaffed.

We would now like to give some idea of how this particular form of

NATIONAL FOLLOW THROUGH PROGRAM
ORGANIZATIONAL CHART
(28 Positions)

Office of the Director (6)

Robert L. Egbert - Director
Lovelace Daniels - Secretary
Charles Harrington - Program Specialist
Joyce J. Green - Program Assistant
William Dean - Intern
LaVerne Hursey - Secretary
Anastasia Johnson - Management Intern
Brenda Parkman - Clerk-Stenographer

Program Management Section (14)

Laurence Wyatt - Chief
Joyce Ervin - Secretary
Eunice Jones - Project Officer
James Husser - Project Officer
John Smith - Project Officer
Allen Wills - Project Officer
Susan Green - Project Officer
Richard Feldman - Project Officer
James Turk - Project Officer
Meredith Higgins - Project Officer
Maryann Harrison - Program Assistant
James Shields - Intern
Patricia Watts - Intern
Ann Bailey - Clerk-Typist
Calathia Taylor - Clerk-Typist
Michelle Renser - Clerk-Typist
Geraldine Williams - Clerk-Steno
Celestine Diggs - Student Assistant
Nancy Decker - 3 mos. Co-op Student

Research & Evaluation Section (6)

Richard Snyder - Chief
Arlie Gordon - Secretary
Frieda Denenmark - Education Program Specialist
Judith Crooks - Education Program Specialist
Donald Burnes - Education Program Specialist
Gail A. Parks - Education Program Specialist
Helen R. Smith - Secretary
Edward Chalker - Education Program Specialist

Technical Assistance Section

Charles Harrington - Chief (Acting)

Information & Dissemination Staff

Story E. Moorefield - Public Information Spec.
Frances Skane - Program Assistant
Claire Ethridge - Clerk-Typist

FIGURE 5.1. An Organizational Chart of the Follow Through Branch

organization came into being and how it relates to the developmental history of Follow Through. At some early point in time, an organization such as Follow Through reaches some understanding about the program that it wishes to implement. Presumably, there is some agreement about a primary objective - in this case, the enhancement of the child's capacity to cope effectively with life situations - and the program is a means to that end. Subsequently, attention must be focused on how the program will be implemented; at that point in time, program implementation becomes an end in itself and means must be chosen for the achievement of that end. Decisions are then made to revise the organization in order to carry out the objective of program implementation. Thus, after a while, the organization begins to become a mirror image of the program (perhaps an imperfect image) that is being implemented and, indeed, we want to look at some of the ways in which the Branch is a reflection of the total Follow Through program.

There is a second complication in that the program has both short and long-run objectives. In a way, the program is multifaceted; the short-run and long-run objectives are not necessarily identical and it is possible and necessary that one should evaluate the program with reference to each of these objectives. Similarly, the organization will reflect in part that there are both short-run and long-run objectives and the organization can be evaluated with reference to either set of objectives. There are some additional hypotheses that we want to introduce that will help clarify the structure of the Branch. Let us consider what happens when an organization tries to make decisions about its own development, assuming that those decisions are constrained both by limits of time as well as resources. Under such circumstances, the priorities given to different parts of the program are likely to influence decisions being made about the development of the organization. More specifically, one would expect that the organization as it develops will emphasize the higher priority portions of the program and those portions of the program that can most readily be defined in operational terms.

Now what are the implications of this form of analysis for the Follow Through organization. It would appear to be true that the short-run objectives of Follow Through have had a dominant influence on the organization of activities in the Follow Through Branch. Secondly, the constraints on time and resources have probably had a stronger influence on the functioning of the program management section and somewhat less influence on research and evaluation. Finally, we would suggest that organizational decisions, once made, come to have a life of their own. When organizational decisions are first made, one notices that the organization is a reasonably accurate reflection of the program requirements. But the program is likely to change and evolve with time without necessary modifications being introduced into the organization. After a while, the organization is likely to be most consistent with the program as originally conceived. In what follows, we want to point out that the Follow Through program has been evolving and that the current organization may need to be modified in order to be more consistent with the program as it may become in the future.

As one becomes immersed in the activities of Follow Through, it is easy to overlook the fact that Follow Through is part of a larger organization and that, indeed, it reports to and is influenced by certain portions of the larger organization. In Figure 5.2 there is a diagramatic representation of Follow Through's relationship to certain other portions of the Federal Government.

We have included in this diagram only those entities that are in a

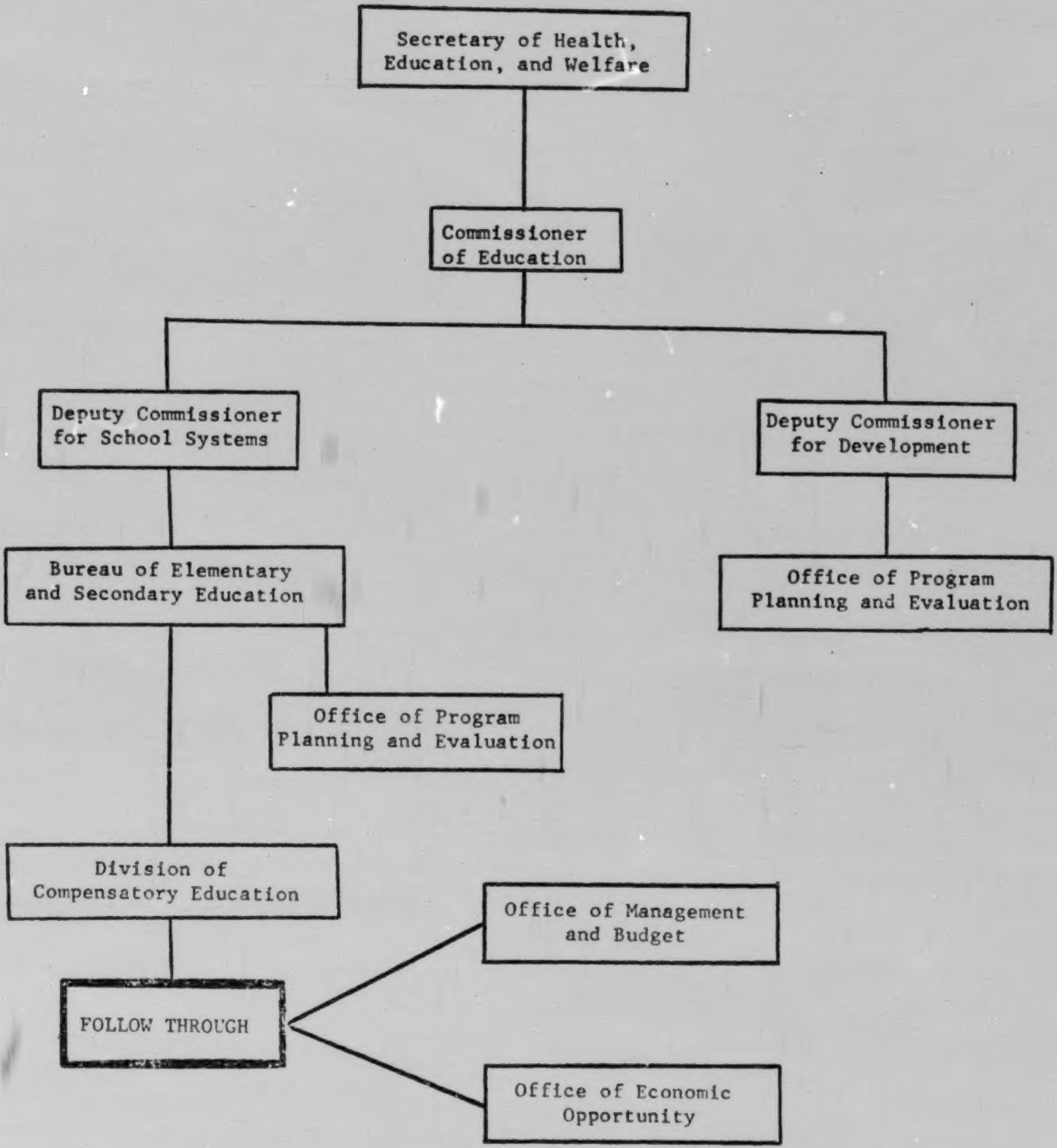
Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare
Commissioner of Education
Deputy Commissioner for School Systems
Deputy Commissioner for Development
Bureau of Elementary and Secondary Education
Office of Program Planning and Evaluation
Office of Program Planning and Evaluation
Division of Compensatory Education
Office of Management and Budget
FOLLOW THROUGH
Office of Economic Opportunity

FIGURE 5.2. FOLLOW THROUGH'S ADMINISTRATIVE PATTERN OF RELATIONSHIPS.

direct position to influence the policies or programs of Follow Through. For example, for administrative purposes, Follow Through has responsibilities to the Office of Administration in OE, particularly the Contracts and Grants Division and Personnel Division. When working with projects and sponsors, there are relationships to regional offices of OE, but these latter entities do not participate in decisions about the Follow Through program.

The diagram is complicated by the fact that there were relationships to two agencies outside of OE, namely, the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO), and the office of Management and Budget (OMB). From 1967 through 1971, OEO supplied the funds for Follow Through and had at best an ambiguous administrative responsibility for reviewing the program. At present, the funds come directly to HEW and OEO no longer has any administrative responsibility. For some time, one individual (Walter Moltkin) represented OEO in the policy making discussions of Follow Through. It would appear that he acted primarily in an advisory capacity and perhaps to reinforce certain program guidelines that were to be applied to local projects. For example, OEO has certainly given reinforcement to the idea of "maximum feasible participation" of parents and the community as well as to the guideline that at least 50% of the children participating must come from families that meet some agreed upon low income guidelines. It is our impression that OEO did not interfere in any way with substantive details of the program, such as the reliance on sponsors and a program of planned variation. By 1970-71, OEO had become more concerned with the need for evaluative reports - from SRI or elsewhere - to demonstrate the effectiveness of Follow Through. In this sense, they represent one of many influences operating on Follow Through to reach some conclusions about the present program effort in order to plan for the future.

In order to discuss the remaining entities that supervise Follow Through, we would like to make a distinction between a substantive or program responsibility and a management or administrative responsibility. To be specific, certain offices that monitor Follow Through pay relatively little attention to the substantive details of the program or to a review of the program objectives of Follow Through; they are more concerned with Follow Through's ability to manage its program effectively, to provide for proper evaluative procedures, and with the effectiveness of the planning process, particularly as Follow Through tries to formulate some longer-run objectives. Other offices are concerned with the substance of the program itself as well as with its effectiveness.

Keeping this distinction in mind, there appear to be at least two offices to whom Follow Through has primarily a management responsibility: the Office of Management and Budget and the Office of Program Planning and Evaluation which reports to the Deputy Commissioner for Development. The chain of command starting with the Division of Compensatory Education, through the Bureau of Elementary and Secondary Education, to the Deputy Commissioner for School Systems, the Commissioner of Education, and, at least nominally, the Office of the Secretary, all exercise substantive as well as managerial control.

The Office of Program Planning and Evaluation, attached as a staff function to BESE is in a unique position. It is probably the most important office responsible for a management review of Follow Through; in addition, this office has a significant influence on the substance of the program as well.

From an operational point of view, what does it mean to say that Follow

Through has a responsibility to a particular office for either the substance or the management of its program? Responsibility appears to involve the following activities:

1. That there be an annual budgetary and program review, in the form of a "program budget presentation" for a particular fiscal year. Note that a budgetary review can be the occasion for a substantive program review as well as a review of Follow Through's managerial practices.
2. That there be an opportunity to review the contracts and grants that are to be funded by Follow Through. This is usually in the form of an opportunity to review proposals before they are reviewed and to "sign off" or endorse in writing one's approval. It is these grants that represent the actual implementation of the total Follow Through program.
3. That there be periodic opportunities to participate in special reviews of the Follow Through program and to influence or approve decisions about the long-run future of Follow Through.
4. That there be more informal procedures for communication between Follow Through and its supervisors in order to keep them informed.

To the best of our knowledge, there has been an interesting evolution over time to the relationships between Follow Through and its supervisors. Apparently, in 1967 and 1968, when the present program was being formulated, there was rather extensive participation by these supervisors in decision-making about the Follow Through program. Then for a period, Follow Through received relatively little supervision, either as to substance or management. Of course, there was some nominal review when the annual budget was being approved or as it was necessary to approve Follow Through's grants and contracts. Toward the end of this initial period, there developed a heightened interest in Follow Through and perhaps for two reasons. First, those responsible for a review of Follow Through's management procedures began to want Follow Through to exercise closer control over its activities, to review in greater detail the contracts that it administers, and to exercise greater control over the effort to evaluate the effectiveness of the Follow Through program. The rationale for this shift was as follows. When Follow Through was first initiated and attempting to implement its program, it was natural to expect that it would have to experiment with the methods of administration and control that were most appropriate. As some experience began to accumulate, it seemed more appropriate that Follow Through move toward a more formal and well-specified set of procedures that it intended to follow.

Secondly, those responsible for a substantive review of the Follow Through program began to feel that the exploratory and experimental stage in Follow Through's history needed to be re-examined. Even though the experimental phase might continue in some form, the long-run objectives of Follow Through needed to be made clearer to these supervisors. In a sense, questions were being asked about the evaluation of the effectiveness of Follow Through and about the implications of this evaluation for future planning.

After the conclusion of this period, the relationships between Follow Through and its supervisors began to go through a transition. We will discuss in a subsequent section how these relationships have changed and the consequences of relationships between the Branch and the rest of the program.

Program Management. This section is the largest of the three sections in Follow Through. It has been responsible for monitoring the contracts between Follow Through and the local communities. The section is responsible for monitoring one-hundred and seventy-three (173) projects and this work load has been divided up amongst the eight project officers, for an average load of twenty (20) projects per project officer. Of course, the projects are not of uniform size and some, particularly those in the large cities of New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, and Los Angeles, involve the project officer in all of the organizational and political complexities of a large city school system. Indeed, the large cities are counted, for purposes of assessing work load, as if they were multiple projects. Since a few project officers have other responsibilities, the work load varies from a minimum of six to a maximum of twenty-six projects, with an average of over twenty.

What does it mean to be responsible for the supervision of a local project? Most importantly, the project officer is responsible for managing the negotiations for contract renewal that take place each year. We should note that the contracts must change from year to year since the projects have been changing each year according to a relatively fixed time schedule. For example, projects have typically begun with children in kindergarten and first grade. In successive years, they expand to include the second grade, and then the third grade. Sometimes, this may mean that additional schools are added from one year to the next. At any rate, the projects have not as yet stabilized and as a result there have been new issues raised every year at the time of contract renewal. At the present time, contract renewal takes place in at least three stages: preliminary discussions of a proposal, a program review that takes place for a number of projects simultaneously when project personnel, sponsors, and project officers meet at a central location, and final discussions prior to approval of a proposal.

Once a proposal is approved, the project officers function so as to make the project as effective as possible and they are the main informational link between the projects and Washington. According to the project officers, there has been little change in their roles over that period during which time the emphasis on sponsors and projects has been primary.

From our conversations with project officers, it seems clear that they operate reasonably independently of each other and that they do not attempt to define their roles in a uniform way. They are sometimes concerned with their lack of uniformity but recognize that the pressures of time and work load coupled with the enormous variability among projects makes it difficult and perhaps unwise to operate in a uniform fashion.

Let us try to summarize first of all some of the similarities between project officers and then some of the differences. In general, project officers have a deep commitment to their projects; they identify with them and participate somewhat vicariously in their successes and failures. Project officers tend to have a strong commitment to Follow Through as a service program. They appear to be somewhat ambivalent about the emphasis on sponsors and planned variation and tend to feel that they are not kept sufficiently informed about the objectives and details of the experimental program. Similarly, they wish they were kept more fully informed about the efforts of SRI. The evaluation effort often has seemed to be a nuisance. They know intellectually that the effort is important but they are all too well aware that SRI's efforts in local communities (particularly with respect to scheduling) often lead to crises or disruptions that they must manage. There is a kind of gentleman's agreement among project officers that they are to suppress any preferences that they may have for one sponsor over another. Thus, there is a clearly enunciated position that project officers must not interfere with sponsor's programs even though the project officer's personal views about education may differ. Yet informally, many of them do have preferences for certain approaches over others. Project officers clearly have a strong commitment to enforcing the Follow Through guidelines but these represent only a minimum set of criteria for the definition of an acceptable program. Finally, the project officers tend to have a very strong commitment to the implementation of procedures that facilitate parent and community participation and they are often in the position of trying to encourage both sponsors and communities to be more active in this area of their programs.

Rather than attempt to discuss how project officers actually differ, let us simply indicate certain dimensions along which project officers are likely to differ. One dimension has to do with the role performed by the project officer when crises arise, as they inevitably do. At one extreme, a project officer may take on a very active role as conciliator, negotiator, and arbitrator. The project officer may work closely with all parties to a dispute in order to bring about some acceptable resolution. At another extreme, the project officer may feel that the resolution of disputes is someone else's responsibility. A second dimension has to do with the role of a project officer in the long-range planning for a project. At one extreme, a project officer may assume that he or she is not responsible for long-range planning but merely for reacting to plans as they develop. Other project officers may work very hard with projects to ensure that they engage in planning from year-to-year and that they set rather clear-cut goals for themselves about what they hope to accomplish during each successive year. Similarly, a project officer may wish to emphasize to projects that they follow good management practices and he may be quite concerned over whether or not the Follow Through support is actually being committed to an innovative program rather than to the financing of existing programs that should already be supported by the local community. Finally, project officers may differ in the extent to which they emphasize the importance of coordination between the Follow Through program and other complementary agencies and activities and they may differ in the emphasis that they wish to place on particular components of the total program. From a developmental point of view, the projects have been evolving: as a consequence, the responsibilites of the project officers have also been changing. When projects were first being initiated, project officers were most concerned with helping to stabilize the projects and with helping sponsors and communities to work together. Now, the projects are beginning to operate more smoothly : they are viable enterprises. Accordingly, project officers seem to be more concerned with improving the effectiveness of projects and with the development of long-range plans.

The project officers are responsible primarily to the Chief of Program Management and we have asked him to give a description of his responsibilites. He sees himself as performing a primary function as trouble-shooter for the project officers. He deals with a steady stream of crises that are brought to him by project officers. In addition, he plays an important role in contract negotiations and in the review of local programs. These responsibilities are time consuming and limit the amount of time that he can devote to other activities. He indicates that he has needed more time for long-range planning for the section, for seeing to it that there is sufficient coordination and communication between project officers, or for helping with the development of more uniform policies and procedures. In short, his days have often been dominated by crises and emergencies. There has been too little time available for coordination and communication between this section and the other sections of Follow Through and in particular Research and Evaluation.

Project officers have a rather anomalous relationship to sponsors and this is the source of some confusion between the two sections of Program Management and Research and Evaluation.. Technically speaking, the relationship between sponsors and Follow Through is the responsibility of Research and Evaluation: this staff approves and monitors contracts with sponsors. On the other hand, sponsors are not paid directly for the services that they provide to local projects. Funds for these services are part of the contract with the local community and disbursements are made from community to sponsor in order to reimburse for services rendered. To be specific, consider Mr. A, working for Sponsor B, and responsible for the implementation of the sponsor's program in Community C. By and large, the money for Mr. A's salary is in Community C's budget. As Mr. A performs a service for the community, funds are transferred from the community's account to Sponsor B to reimburse him for Mr. A's salary, which, hopefully, has already been paid. More importantly, if Community C is dissatisfied with the services being performed, they may refuse to transfer the funds, until such time as they feel satisfied that Mr. A. and Sponsor B are living up to their commitments to the community. The point we are trying to make is that project officers do have some control over sponsors since some of the support for the sponsor's program is covered by the contract with the community that is being monitored by the project officer. Furthermore, project officers will on occasion act on complaints made by their communities about sponsors and attempt to work out an agreement that is acceptable to both community and sponsor.

We asked some of the project officers what changes would make it possible for them to do a better job and received a number of suggestions. Project officers might not all agree on the importance of these suggestions but they were at least worthy of consideration. The more important ones are as follows:

1. Some project officers feel that they spend too much time with clerical activities in connection with their projects and wish that they could be relieved of some of these responsibilities. In return, they should be able to spend more time with projects in planning and helping them to improve their programs. Alternatively, one might suggest that they devote too much time to the monitoring of project activities and not enough time in support of these activities.
2. Some project officers feel that there should be more frequent staff meetings for all project officers so that they could share experiences and work toward more uniform procedures and practices when appropriate.
3. Some project officers are conscious of the fact that they have had little training in administrative and management practices and in contract management; some help along these lines would make it easier for them to carry out their responsibilities.
4. Some project officers mentioned a series of program guides (the Rainbow series) that have been prepared by Head Start. These guides are available to communities to help them in the development of their programs. Project officers have suggested the need for a similar series that might be used by Follow Through in its local community projects.
5. Some project officers are concerned about the need for regular meetings among the total staff of Follow Through. They felt insufficiently informed about the program of Research and Evaluation, about the activities of SRI, and

about long-range planning for the future of Follow Through.

6. Project officers are not particularly satisfied with the current procedures for assigning projects to project officers. According to the chief of the section, there is no well-defined rationale for making these decisions. However, an effort has been made to ensure that any given project officer will work with only a small number of sponsors. Some suggestions have been made that project officers concentrate on a particular region or that they specialize by sponsor. At any rate, some clearer rationale for the assignment of projects to project officers would appear to be desirable.

The section for Program Management has also been responsible for monitoring the general consultants who work for local community projects and this responsibility is currently delegated to a single individual. The rationale for having general consultants is an interesting one but it is not at all clear that sufficient attention has been given to the implementation of this idea. Local communities have funds for hiring a general consultant although not all projects take advantage of this provision. For some period of time, there did no exist any very clear agreement about the functions to be performed by this individual. In some communities, the role has evolved into an important one although the results from community to community are far from uniform. One might recommend the following course of action with respect to the role of general consultants. An attempt should be made to identify communities in which the general consultant has been particularly useful. By examining these situations, it should be possible to define the role more clearly and to suggest to other communities how the general consultant can be more effectively utilized. In addition, the use of general consultants might become a special option available to projects only when there is a particular need for their services. There is also interest about one important issue concerning the use of general consultants that has never been resolved. This has to do with the nature of the relationship that a general consultant should try to develop between himself and the local project. Some consultants view their main function as one of providing support to a local project in ways that will supplement the capabilities of the local staff and the sponsor's representative. Under these circumstances, the general consultant works very closely in cooperation with local personnel in helping them to accomplish their objectives. This method of operation appears to be reasonably affective, particularly when the general consultant is able to spend a reasonable amount of time in working with local staff.

Other consultants may take on a somewhat more evaluative role in which the consultant may attempt to identify project short-comings or to evaluate the objectives that are being pursued by a local project. Since the general consultants must submit reports to Program Management and to the relevant project officer, these evaluations are necessarily forwarded to the project officer. This method of operation appears to be somewhat less effective for a number of reasons. It may lead to somewhat strained relationships between the general consultant and the project staff, since the latter group may come to view the general consultant primarily as an outside "policeman" whose main responsibility is to the project officer. Secondly, the recommendations made by general consultants are often based on rather limited experiences with local projects. Thus, local projects may view the recommendations as based upon insufficient understanding of the conditions under which local projects operate and therefore as somewhat inappropriate.

Finally, there is the question of who is responsible for following up on any of these recommendations that may be made by a general consultant. Conceivably, project officers could exercise such a responsibility. At present, this is not the case, although some project officers may on occasion follow up on a general consultant's recommendations. More importantly, it is not clear that project officers have the time or resources available for acting in such a capacity.

Research and Evaluation. The other major section in the Follow Through Branch has been Research and Evaluation. By comparison with Program Management, it is smaller and harder to describe. Moreover, while the responsibilities assigned to Program Management remained relatively stable during the period 1968-70, there was a gradual evolution to the responsibilities undertaken by Research and Evaluation.

Let us attempt to develop a possible explanation for certain characteristics of this section and for some of its special characteristics when compared to Program Management. Consider an organization at the time it has first been formed, when it has responsibility for achieving some objective, and before it has developed a differentiated structure. In order to establish sub-systems with particular responsibilities, it must be possible to translate the objective into a program for implementation which has implications for the differentiation of the organization into parts. With Follow Through, it was easiest to recognize the need for dealing with community projects and this responsibility was assigned to Program Management. In addition, as one assigns responsibilities to a subsystem, it is important that these be specified in operational terms; i.e., some criteria need to be established for assessing in what respects the assigned responsibilities are being successfully accomplished.

Now, Program Management is readily comprehensible because its responsibility for helping with the implementation of the community projects is reasonably clear and some operational criteria at least for the definition of a minimum level of acceptable performance have been available. Interestingly enough, its responsibilities can be derived primarily from the short-run objectives of Follow Through to implement a sponsor-based, experimentally oriented program as a necessary first step. Moreoever, its relationship to projects is not one of collaboration: projects are responsible for implementation and the project officers monitor that implementation.

By way of contrast, the section for Research and Evaluation appears to have functioned partly as a residual category: it included some responsibilities which could be clearly defined in operational terms as well as others which had never been assigned elsewhere and were much more difficult to categorize. In the initial stage of development of the Follow Through organization, Research and Evaluation was responsible for the recruitment of sponsors and assisted in the bringing together of sponsors with local communities. They were also responsible for the development of the concept of longitudinal evaluation, with the recruitment of potential subcontractors for the evaluation research, and then for working with SRI, after their proposal was accepted, in making plans for the implementation of the evaluation effort. Note that these responsibilities are reasonably well-defined. But this section was also helpful at that time in the development of an intellectual rationale for Follow Through that would provide a justification for an experimental program and that would anticipate how the evaluation effort would provide information that would lead to long-range planning and decision-making for Follow Through. Note that these latter responsibilities are much less well-defined and are partly the responsibilities of the Program Director.

During Follow Through's period of implementation of the program of planned variation, Research and Evaluation again had some well-defined responsibilities plus those residual categories that were not amenable to more precise definition. Among their well-defined responsibilities, Research and Evaluation has been responsible for dealing with sponsors and for the contractual agreements between Follow Through and the sponsors. Thus, they function like project officers to the sponsors but with an emphasis on the details of sponsor participation with community projects. In this respect, sponsors are encouraged to pursue some research interests that are of relevance to the total Follow Through program and the funding for this research is included in the annual proposals submitted by sponsors. However, there is considerable variation among sponsors in terms of their interest in research.

Also during this period, Research and Evaluation was responsible for the negotiations with SRI and for working with SRI on the development of their program of evaluation. To the extent that SRI had short-term, immediate objectives, this responsibility for dealing with SRI was relatively well-defined. For example, there were numerous decisions that had to be made about a sampling plan, of matching comparison groups with experimental groups, the development of instruments and methods of measurement, methods for analysis, et. However, the evaluation effort is closely related to the long-run issues facing Follow Through. As such, the task of dealing with SRI has been extremely complex. For example, the purposes to be served by the evaluation effort have never been very clear and this has led to difficulties between SRI and Research and Evaluation as well as between SRI and other parts of the Follow Through program. Although one talks of Follow Through as an experimental program, there are many theoretical issues that are pertinent to an interpretation of these experiments that have never been resolved and, indeed, are extremely difficult to resolve. Although the information obtained by SRI is intended to be pertinent to an assessment of the effectiveness of Follow Through and to decision-making about the future of Follow Through, how these data are to be interpreted and indeed how they would fit into a decision-making process about the future has remained unclear. In short, the SRI effort is intimately related to long-run questions about Follow Through. And the responsibility for dealing with SRI remained a difficult one as long as there were critical issues about the long-run future of Follow Through that remain unresolved.

Assuming that Research and Evaluation did indeed function as a residual category, particularly in their relationship to SRI, we can point to an interesting evolution in the functioning of this section. Through working with SRI, it was possible to identify certain respects in which the SRI effort was either incomplete or inadequate. Research and Evaluation attempted to fill "the gaps" in order to eliminate these inadequacies. One strategy as documented in Chapter Four has been to attempt to influence SRI in order to modify and expand its efforts in appropriate directions and to influence SRI to use consultants or to hire staff with certain specific capabilities. For example, attempts were made to improve SRI's program of community studies, its emphasis on non-cognitive measures, and its program of parent interviews. To some extent, the section was successful in influencing SRI. More often than not, their efforts to influence were unsuccessful. As an alternative, they have funded separate research grants in order to complement the research being undertaken by SRI. These research grants have had reasonably well-defined objectives. Their progress has been monitored by Research and Evaluation and this activity devoted to the monitoring of grants has become one of the more well-defined responsibilities of the section.

These additional research projects could be grouped under the following headings:

1. Evaluation of the non-instructional components of local programs. There was one contract with Biodynamics, Inc. in order to study the health care components in approximately 70 Follow Through community projects.

   If it were important, one could visualize other research directed to the evaluation of other service components included in the comprehensive program.

2. Research leading to the development of new methods of measurement, particularly for the assessment of higher level cognitive processes. There were several projects in this area, such as the research sponsored by Columbia, the Educational Testing Services, and the University of Florida.

3. Support for some potential additional sponsors who were attempting to develop program approaches that were promising and did not duplicate the efforts of existing sponsors. The efforts of Ramirez at the University of California, Riverside, Crockett at the Western Behavioral Sciences Institutes, and the Institute for Juvenile Research (Scheinfeld), are examples of novel program approaches that were funded. Under this heading, Follow Through has been supporting the development of a broader repertoire of program approaches or educational models.

4. Research on the influence of organizational variables on the successful implementation of Follow Through and on the institutional impact of Follow Through. SRI's original program of research included a program of community studies with a similar set of objectives. However, SRI's research effort in this area had limited success and some additional projects were funded in this area. These included the efforts of the National Training Laboratories' Institute for Applied Behavioral Science which attempted ". . .to determine the ways in which Follow Through 'support systems' function within local projects. In 1970-71, National Training Laboratories will extend its efforts to develop activities to facilitate effective involvement of these systems - parents, staff, consultants, sponsors, and community leaders - in local Follow Through program development."[1]
5. Efforts to develop an appropriate theoretical model for describing the Follow Through program and particularly for placing the experimental models of the sponsors in an appropriate theoretical context. In a sense, one has needed a better theory about child development that would help to rationalize and make sense out of the program of planned variation as undertaken by the sponsors. Some of this effort took place under a contract with the Social Science Research Council and its Committee on Learning and the Education Process. A book on Follow Through, written by Eleanor Maccoby and Miriam Zellner is one of the products of this effort.[2]

---

[1] National Follow Through Program Budget Presentation, FY 1972. August, 1970, p. 3.

[2] Eleanor E. Maccoby and Miriam Zellner. Experiments in Primary Education: Aspects of Project Follow-Through. New York: Harcourt Brace Jvanovich, Inc. 1970.

In addition, there has been some use of consultants in the field of early childhood education in order to clarify some of the theoretical issues that are pertinent to Follow Through.

6. Finally, there was some research effort that was pertinent to planning for the future of Follow Through, particularly for its possible expansion as a service program. The research which has led to this report may be placed in this category, although there were other studies that were pertinent to planning for the future of Follow Through.

In short, many of these research projects supplemented the effort of SRI and rounded out the total evaluation effort. Some projects supplemented the efforts of the current set of sponsors by exploring other possible models for future inclusion. The remaining projects had long-run implications for Follow Through, either by developing improved methods of measurement for incorporation into future studies or for helping to anticipate future changes for the Follow Through program or organization.

There is another way to summarize the organizational complexity associated with this particular sub-system of the Follow Through organization. We would suggest that responsibilities can be delegated to a differentiated sub-system as long as those responsibilities can be defined in operational terms. To the extent that Research and Evaluation was responsible for some well-defined tasks, one can conclude that its role in the organization had been successfully differentiated from other parts of the organization and that the delegation of responsibility was meaningful. We would also suggest that responsibilities that can not yet be defined in operational terms can not be delegated in any very meaningful way for they remain the responsibility of the total organization, i.e., of the Director. Thus, in some respects, Research and Evaluation shared with the Director certain responsibilities which could not yet be delegated. To that extent, Research and Evaluation functioned simultaneously as a section with differentiated responsibilities, and as an auxiliary staff working closely with the Director, with undifferentiated responsibilities.

We asked the staff of this division to indicate what changes would have made it possible for them to do a better job and some of the suggestions were as follows:

1. There was a need for improved methods of communication among the staff of this division so that they might be aware of what other members of the division were doing and could comprehend the total effort in Research and Evaluation.
2. There was a need for improved communications between Program Management and Research and Evaluation, partly on the basis that the project officers needed to be kept more fully informed about the evaluation effort. In addition, there had been an awareness that relationships between the two divisions were strained; the Research and Evaluation staff perceived the project officers as being ambivalent about the emphasis being placed on research and on the important role assigned to the sponsors.
3. Some staff members who dealt with SRI were conscious of the strained relationships that existed between Research and Evaluation and SRI. There was some feeling that Follow Through had expected too much of SRI and that SRI did not receive a clear enough delegation of responsibility from Follow Through. There was also an awareness that Research and Evaluation had been communicating to SRI some feelings of ambivalence and mistrust; working relationships

between the two would have been improved if disagreements could have been resolved and if an atmosphere of mutual trust could have been restored.

There is one additional issue about the activities of this section that should be mentioned. This issue concerns those separately funded research projects other than the SRI evaluation effort. For the most part, there was agreement on the importance of the problems that were the subject of these research projects. But questions could be raised about the rationale for project selection and the criteria for project approval. Although the results of some of these research projects might well be of general interest, it has sometimes been unclear that project results would be likely to have any useful impact on the Follow Through program itself.

Technical Assistance. For some time, this section existed primarily on paper. In 1970 Mr. Charles Harrington was named as Acting Director. He also functioned as Administrative Officer for Follow Through and this in itself was a full-time position. The most important responsibility of this section was for certain grants that were made by Follow Through to State Education Associations. These grants were used in order to provide technical assistance to local communities and to assist in the expansion of Follow Through into other local communities. During this intermediate phase in the life of Follow Through, the role of the State Education Associations was not an active one. However, under the five-year plan for the expansion of the program, the assumption was being made that the State Education Associations would play a much more active role and that they might actually exercise a decentralized responsibility for the expansion of the program. Under such circumstances, the importance of the Technical Assistance Section might be substantially increased.

Reorientation and Its Consequences

In chapters three and four, we have indicated that Follow Through went through a period of reorientation beginning in July, 1971 and continuing into the present. In those chapters, we attempted to describe how these reorientations were perceived by sponsors, local projects, and particularly by SRI and some of the consequences for these particular subsystems. In this section, we want to review the consequences for the Follow Through Branch: for the individual sections, for relationships among the sections, as well as for relationships between the Follow Through Branch and other components in the larger Follow Through system. The period is a confusing one and the reorientation did not particularly proceed according to an explicit plan. Rather, it was the outcome of responses to a series of issues. Let us first try to introduce some interpretations about the period prior to July, 1971 in order to suggest why the reorientation took place as well as its significance.

By implication, the administrative procedures of the Branch prior to July, 1971 appear to have been based upon a pair of complementary principles. One was that all components in the program would have an opportunity to collaborate in the decision-making processes that would determine the character and development of Follow Through. Of course, at some abstract level the ultimate purpose of Follow Through was fixed as well as the emphasis on planned variation, but not the interpretation of that purpose nor its operational specifications. A second principle follows almost as a corollary that Follow Through would attempt to be somewhat experimental in the development of methods of organization for the program and in the development of administrative procedures. We would maintain that these principles are complementary in the following sense. As long as one is willing to reinterpret an operational definition of the purposes of the program, one must also be willing to modify organization as well as administration so that this will fit this restatement of purpose. To the best of our knowledge, these principles have never been stated explicitly, at least not in writing, although they have been referred to informally and in practice. There were at least two reasons that might be given in support of this "style" of operation. First, there is the problem of maintaining the interest and active participation of the wide variety of individuals who make up the Follow Through program. There has been good reason to believe that these individuals would feel committed to the program provided that they had some opportunity to participate in its development. Indeed, during this period, Follow Through was characterized by a sense of mission and excitement that was partly a consequence of this opportunity to participate. Secondly, there has been an honest awareness that one needed to be experimental about the Follow Through organization precisely because there has been considerable uncertainty about how to organize such a program so that it might be successful. After all, there are many similar programs that have failed because of the inability to develop appropriate methods of organization.

Now this is not the usual way in which one attempts to administer a large-scale Federally-funded program. A much more conventional approach would be to assume that a) the program administrators would have primary responsibility for all major decisions about the form of the program and that b) the program administrators would delegate to others (through contracts) the responsibility for implementation and c) would monitor those responsible for implementation in order to ensure they conformed to a basic set of guidelines.

Assuming that one wishes to follow this first set of assumptions, emphasizing collaboration, what administrative difficulties must be resolved if one is to be successful? Based upon the Follow Through experience during this period, we would suggest that there are four important administrative difficulties that can be anticipated.

1. If collaboration is to be successful, one must develop some effective decision-making procedures by means of which collaboration can take place. More specifically, who should be included and who has "voting" rights? Clearly, sponsors and project representatives should be included but what about parents and perhaps the general consultants? Some of the meetings that we have described in Chapter Four, attended by a wide variety of participants, could be viewed as attempts to make collaboration possible. Although these meetings performed a valuable service, they were quite unwieldy and were at best partially successful. They dealt primarily with short-run issues having to do with the implementation of the demonstration phase and there was much less opportunity (for reasons of time, if nothing else) to deal with long-run issues about the future of Follow Through. Moreover, by July, 1971, it became apparent that the question of how parents might be represented had never been satisfactoritly resolved. The meetings were already quite large (nearly 100 individuals in attendance) and the addition of parents on any basis of uniform representation would have made them all the more unwieldy.

The problems of collaboration with SRI on plans for evaluation were equally serious because there was so much to collaborate about. At least, the number of people involved was often more manageable, except for those occasions when the plans were also reviewed with sponsors and local project personnel.

It seems reasonable to conclude that these decision-making procedures which involved collaboration were never wholly successful and this administrative problem was never satisfactorily resolved.

2. In addition to the emphasis on collaboration, Follow Through continued to have certain legal obligations for monitoring all contracts for which they were responsible. As a result, there was the problem of how to function simultaneously as monitor as well as collaborator. We would suggest that it is difficult for one individual to function simultaneously in both of these capacities. The monitoring function involves an element of policing and evaluation in order to determine that funds have been properly spent and that activities conform to the Follow Through guidelines. When one collaborates, one works more nearly as an equal helping to support activities. To some extent, Follow Through solved this conflict between functions by creating a differentiation of functions such that certain individuals were primarily assigned these monitoring responsibilities while other individuals were free to work supportively and collaboratively. To be specific, the more difficult monitoring responsibilities for dealing with projects was assigned to the Program Management section. And the main responsibility of project officers was for the monitoring of projects. As a result, the Director and the Research and Evaluation section were able to work in a more collaborative fashion with sponsors and with SRI. Of course, there was some responsibility for monitoring the contracts with sponsors, SRI, and other research contracts, but this was not primary.

This solution by differentiation proved to be a reasonably effective one. However, it is our impression that it led to certain internal tensions between the two sections whose personnel were functioning in a rather different manner. Perhaps, the problem was one of developing some understanding and acceptance of the differences in style that characterized the two sections. It also meant, for reasons that are not clear, that Research and Evaluation had more influence on the decision-making processes, perhaps because of their involvement in collaborative relationships, than did Program Management.

3. To the extent that the Follow Through Branch attempted to view its own administrative practices experimentally and as open to review and change, there had to be a commitment of resources to this attempt to learn from experience and to improve; i.e., there had to be opportunities for assessment and reorganization. Because of the limitations on staff and on time, this proved to be a very difficult requirement to satisfy. For example, during 1970 and 1971, occasional staff meetings were held for the specific purpose of evaluating present practices and improving upon them. These meetings might be viewed as an attempt to establish a program of organizational development within the Branch and they were held at the initiative of the Director. Although the meetings were partially successful, it was difficult to follow up on what was begun at these meetings. As a result, the meetings did not lead to significant changes in the functioning of the Branch. It is important to note that intelligent reorganization requires a significant investment of time and resources and these were not available.

4. Finally, there is the administrative problem of maintaining relationships with those entities to whom Follow Through was responsible. We would maintain that this collaborative style of operation was not wholly consistent with the administrative constraints within which Follow Through operated. To be specific, the influence of OEO was partially supportive of this method of operation since OEO

itself had administered some programs in a similar fashion. The influence of OEO was helpful in this respect but, by July 1971, had begun to decline. As a result, Follow Through had to be more responsive to its relationships to HEW and to OMB, and the influences of these two agencies were not particularly consistent with either collaboration or an experimental approach to one's own administrative practices. Along these lines, Evans has suggested quite persuasively that "the role of program administration and the role of objective evaluation involve conflicting interests. We have not yet arrived at that ideal (and unreal) point in the conduct of affairs in our government where agency heads and program directors see their role as an impartial custodian or overseer of the public interest. It is hard to imagine, for example, the secretary of one of the major departments going to the Congress, reporting that one of his major programs does not appear to be producing any appreciable effect, and recommending that Congress take back several billion dollars devoted to this program and abolish part of his department. Rather, the program administration's role seems inevitably to be that of program advocate. To a very considerable extent it is desirable that this should be the case. But the typical process which takes place annually within government agencies preparing for Congressional hearings is not one of developing an even handed presentation of the successes and advantages vs. the failures and difficulties of a program, but rather one of collecting and displaying those things (with limited scrutiny of their validity) which show the program and its accomplishments in a favorable light."[3]

During this period, the Follow Through Director was the one who had the primary responsibility for dealing with these constraints. As to the emphasis on planned variation, this could be defended because the objective of the Follow Through projects was not necessarily to demonstrate that all of the projects were successful but rather that the experiment in planned variation was successful in identifying which approaches were most effective. Of course, there was an implication that some approaches would be successful enough to justify the effort. However, as a consequence, the management of the evaluation effort became of great importance, particularly because it was a key to the success of the planned variation. Thus, in retrospect, it is not surprising that the Research and Evaluation section with its emphasis on collaboration, should have been particularly vulnerable to external criticism. Program management, with its emphasis on the monitoring of projects, operated more nearly within customary expectations and was much less vulnerable to criticism.

Follow Through managed to protect its own somewhat unorthodox style of operation through the year 1970-71, after which a significant reorientation began to take place. In our judgment, the affects of this reorientation have been to bring Follow Through more nearly into conformity with customary administrative practices and to bring to an end the emphasis on collaborative decision-making. As we reviewed in previous chapters, the impetus to reorientate came substantially from outside of the Follow Through Branch and focussed on two specific issues: (1) the administration of the evaluation effort and (2) the establishment of a long-range perspective in the form of a five-year plan for the expansion and proliferation of Follow Through.

---

[3] Evans, J.W. Evaluating social action programs, in Zurcher, L.A. and Bonjean, C.M. (eds.), Planned Social Intervention, Scranton, Penn.: Chandler, 1970, p. 240.

What have been the consequences of these reorientations for the Follow Through Branch? Interestingly enough, there has been little change in the form and structure of the Branch organization: the same functional subdivisions have continued to exist. What has changed are the functioning of the sections and, in part, their relationships to the remainder of the Follow Through program.

Program Management. This section has changed the least because it followed administrative practices that were in conformity with expectations. There is one structural change of significance that was introduced during the past year. The projects have been broken down into regions - Far West, Midwest, Southwest, Northeast, and Southeast - and each project officer has been assigned to work within one of these regions. In addition, individual project officers have been placed in charge of the monitoring activities within a given region. As a result of this change, the travels of a project officer will be limited primarily to travel within a region. By placing individuals in charge of a region, there is the possibility that the practices of project officers will become more uniform, both within as well as between regions.

There is one difficulty that has arisen in its relationships to sponsors and projects. As we indicated in Chapter Three, during 1972-73, this section was closely involved with the effort to review the effectiveness of all projects with the intention of eliminating certain projects from the program as of June, 1972. The objective of this effort was to regain control of a portion of funds that might be allocated to the five-year plan with its emphasis on state agencies. Undoubtedly, there is no painless way in which projects can be terminated. The effort was complicated by the fact that little advance notice had been given and projects had not anticipated the possibility of termination at such an early date. Since data from SRI were not yet available to be used as a basis for termination, this section and the project officers had to become involved in the difficult task of defining a review procedure and a set of criteria by means of which decisions about termination might be made. Thus, it is not surprising that those projects who received notice that they were about to be terminated were reluctant to accept the validity of the decisions and were quite critical of the procedures that had been followed. It is our impression that the project officers were trapped in an extremely awkward situation and that there was very little that they could do in order to make these decisions seem plausible and fair. Moreover, they could not rely on the relative impersonality and objectivity of the SRI evaluation data. Even though a majority of the decisions were rescinded and most projects originally scheduled for termination were not in fact terminated, the experience has damaged somewhat the relationships that had previously existed between projects and project officers. Again, we would like to emphasize that the individual project officers had relatively little control over what was happening. But the experience emphasized the fact that project officers had considerable influence over the life and death of the projects for which they were responsible. Assuming that similar decisions must be made at some time in the future, we would hope that more well-defined criteria for project termination can be developed and that these criteria can be made to seem fair and acceptable, even though projects are likely to continue to resist the possibility that they might be terminated.

Partly as a result of these issues about project termination and about the representation of parents in the decision-making process, a number of the PAC's have moved toward a form of coalition in which they might exert some collective influence on Follow Through and HEW. Plans are underway to develop a National Policy Advisory Committee, consisting of all local PAC's. Some meetings within states and within regions have already been held.

Also as a consequence of the five-year plan and the funding of pilot efforts on the part of five state agencies, Program Management has become involved with planning for the monitoring of these state agencies and with plans for the administration of the expansion, assuming that an expanded Follow Through will actually be supported. However, under these circumstances, part of the Program Management section might be organized into a separate section with responsibility for the implementation of the five-year plan.

Research and Evaluation. The functioning of this section has been particularly influenced by the shift in orientation. The initial emphasis on collaboration meant essentially that this section was involved in a program of research and development. As such, primary emphasis was on the development of plans and only secondarily on the monitoring or administration of the evaluation effort. As a result of the reorientation, this emphasis has been reversed so that the emphasis on monitoring has become primary. For example, as a result of these reorientations, the developmental aspects of the SRI effort have been substantially eliminated. What remain are primarily the data collection and data processing efforts, which are well-defined. Thus, the relationship between SRI and this section has become much more clearly defined, with less need for collaboration, and based upon a well-defined division of responsibilities.

In addition, the section is considering the possibility that contracts with SRI be routinely written for a 2-year rather than a 1-year period and that technical reports be scheduled for every other year rather than every year. These proposals, when they go into effect, would appear to establish a much more realistic set of expectations within which SRI can be expected to operate. On a one-year basis for contract renewals, the proposal for a renewal has to be submitted at about the time data are being collected in the field and prior to the time that any of the data have been analyzed. Thus, the proposal for renewal can not be evaluated on the basis of performance during the current year, although it might be evaluated on the basis of performance during the previous year. Similarly, there is relatively little of interest to report on the basis of a single year's evaluation effort, although the result from two year's activities are much more likely to be meaningful.

In addition, the section appears to have relieved itself of certain responsibilities by delegation through certain subcontracts. These are to the Huron Institute, the responsibility for the development of evaluation plans, and to Abt Associates, for plans for the design of the evaluation effort and for the analysis of the data. This change appears to be realistic when one considers some of the difficulties SRI has had in the past and when one considers the limited staff that is assigned to the Research and Evaluation section.

Finally, some consideration has been given to the variety of objectives to which the evaluation effort might have addressed itself and some decisions have been made about which objectives are primary. As a result of these reorientations, the primary purpose of the evaluation is now to address itself to those policy questions which are important for the future of Follow Through and for the development of long-run plans about the possible expansions of the program. Alternately, one might ask for which audience should the evaluation reports be written? The answer appears to be for those in policy-making positions who will participate in the decision-making about Follow Through's future. The importance of the sponsors and the projects as audiences would appear to be secondary and, indeed, sponsors and projects have been encouraged to develop plans for that type of evaluation that would serve most effectively their own particular objectives. In short, the Research and Evaluation section has been particularly responsive to those constraints within which Follow Through operates and has begun to operate more in conformity with those constraints.

To a significant extent, changes have led to improved relationships between Program Management and Research and Evaluation, partly because they now operate in more similar fashions and because their operations are based upon similar assumptions about the purpose of Follow Through and its administration.

The Functions of the Director

We have saved until last a discussion of the Follow Through Director and of the responsibilities assigned to this position. Dr. Egbert functioned through June, 1971 and thus, his role preceded the reorientation to Follow Through that began at that time. At the risk of some oversimplification, we would like to describe the major functions that he performed as follows.

1. He was responsible for the very critical relationships between Follow Through and those offices to which it reports. This responsibility was an active one during the initial planning stages for Follow Through. It was relatively inactive during the next stage of growth and consolidation since the interaction between Follow Through and supervisors was minimal and few critical decisions were being made. The exercise of this responsibility became once again of critical importance as Follow Through moved into a transitional

phase in which some important decisions about the future of Follow Through began to be of importance.

2. He was responsible for the translation of the objectives of Follow Through into a set of operational requirements, for determining the organizational implications of these requirements, and for making decisions about the structure of the organization and the allocations of responsibility in order to implement these decisions.
3. He was responsible for monitoring the effectiveness of the Follow Through organization and for attempting to change the organization to the extent that he observed discrepancies between what was expected of the organization and what was actually being accomplished.
4. He was responsible for reviewing the objectives of Follow Through over time and for proposing modifications when appropriate. Since there were multiple objectives, both in the short and long-run, he was also responsible for the articulation of one objective with another, particularly so that the short-run objectives might actually serve as intermediate steps (means) toward the achievement of long-range objectives.

During this period, Follow Through was concerned primarily with the successful implementation of the demonstration phase with its emphasis on the role of sponsors and local projects. This meant that he was primarily concerned with the development of an organization for implementing certain short-range program objectives. He played an active role in the evolution of the section for Program Management and in a clarification of the responsibilities being undertaken by the project officers. It is interesting to note that there was a high rate of interaction between the Director and the project officers throughout this period. In a sense, the Director functioned as a trouble-shooter with reference to project implementation and as a senior advisor to the project officers. He routinely participated in the making of difficult decisions about sponsors and projects. This was not surprising since the projects were not as yet stabilized and the ground-rules for project officers were still in a state of flux. Moreover, the successful implementation of projects had been an absolutely essential first step in the implementation of the total Follow Through program.

His relationship to Research and Evaluation was a rather different one. We indicated previously that Research and Evaluation had functioned somewhat as a center for the research and development activities and as a residual category, responsible for all of the undifferentiated responsibilities that could neither be delegated to Program Management nor to Technical Assistance. The Director worked intimately with Research and Evaluation and particularly on those tasks that were critical to program evaluation and to long-range planning for Follow Through. As certain tasks have become well-defined (some of the research contracts), they have been delegated to a staff member of this section. The Director worked closely with those responsibilities not yet well-defined and one might either conclude that he functioned as a senior member of Research and Evaluation or that portions of this section functioned in a staff relationship to the Director.

Dr. Egbert's resignation went into affect on 30 June 1971 at which time he was succeeded by Ms. Rosemary Wilson. However, that date coincides with a shift in emphasis away from the achievement of short-run objectives and towards planning for the future of Follow Through. What are some of the implications of this shift in emphasis for the Director of Follow Through?

1. The importance of the liaison function between Follow Through and

those offices to which it is responsible is once again of critical importance. Interestingly enough, more initiative is now being taken by those offices in exercising some control over the activities of Follow Through. One would anticipate that the importance of this function will continue for some time. In addition to some decisions about long-range objectives for Follow Through, there will continue to be a series of decisions about the implementation of these decisions, about the possible expansion of Follow Through into a service program, and about the possible termination of portions of the existing program. These decisions can not be made without participation and support from a number of offices to which Follow Through is responsible.

2. As the responsibilities of the Research and Evaluation section have become more well-defined and as its collaborative relationship to SRI concerning the evaluation has come to an end, there is less need for the Director to be closely involved with activities of this section.
3. It also follows that the Director must be increasingly active in helping to work out the details of a possible five-year plan and for the development of a plan of action over time which will clarify the relationships between short-run and long-run program objectives.
4. Finally, she is likely to become increasingly involved in reviewing the effectiveness of the present form of organization in order to introduce desirable modifications. This task is of critical importance as decisions about the long-run future of Follow Through are being made and the implications of these decisions for

the reorientation of the organization are being considered.

We have left out one important consideration. This Director continues to be overworked as was the previous Director. She maintains all her current responsibilities along with some additional ones. One would anticipate that she must find ways to divest herself of some of her current, short-range responsibilities so that she can be more active in the area of long-range planning and in the subsequent reorientation of the Follow Through organization.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

Introduction

The object of this report has been to review the Follow Through experience, emphasizing particularly the evolution of organizational and administrative arrangements for implementing the program objectives. Along with our discussion of the Follow Through Branch as the administrative center of the program, we have given considerable attention to certain components of the program - subsystems - whose activities are of primary importance. These include the local projects which were responsible for the instructional efforts and for the initiation of a program of parent involvement; the sponsors with their responsibility for the support of the local projects; and, finally, the evaluation effort with its responsibility for the collection and analysis of data.

As one reflects upon these experiences, one can not help but be impressed with the innovative nature of the program, with the high aspirations that have been characteristic of it, and with the dedication that has been so much in evidence. Along with the achievements, there have been disappointments and one would hope to learn something from both sets of outcomes. We should make clear that, in reviewing some of the disappointments, we are not suggesting that "better" decisions could easily have been made or that there were obvious alternatives that might have been followed. Follow Through is a novel program, with few precedents available to guide the development of administrative procedures; the staff had little choice except to explore by trial and error how the program might be organized, fully expecting that some decisions made would be either unproductive or even counter-productive.

However, on the basis of the Follow Through program, one can identify some conclusions; i.e., some guidelines for the future, that should be informative for the administration of similar programs.

Our statement of conclusions has been organized in the following way. There are certain conclusions[1] pertinent to each of the major subsystems. For each subsystem, such as the local projects, there are some conclusions that have to do with the internal administration of the subsystem. By that we mean those decisions about the organization of the subsystem that are directed toward the accomplishment of a particular set of objectives.

There are some additional conclusions that have to do with the relationship of the subsystem to other subsystems within Follow Through. To be specific, when one subsystem makes certain decisions, these may operate as constraints that must be taken into account by certain other subsystems. Thus, certain internal difficulties may actually be a reflection of the interactions between subsystems as the behavior of one constrains the behavior of another.

Project Implementation

At the local level, projects have both short and long-run objectives. In the short-run, they are responsible for the implementation of a successful demonstration of the various components of a local project. In our study, we have focused on two components - instructional and parent involvement - and will limit our discussions to these portions of the project activity. We have also given some consideration to the long-run objectives of a local project, namely, the attempt to learn from experiences with the demonstration effort in order to have some broader and perhaps lasting impact on institutions and practices within that community.

---

[1] Conclusions are numbered using the convention that the first digit references the subsystem and the second indexes the conclusions about that subsystem. Thus Conclusion 2.1 would be the first conclusion about the second subsystem.

The Instructional Component. At the time of project initiation, communities vary enormously in the extent to which they involve possible participants in the initial decisions about the project. Although there are projects in which broad participation was encouraged, there are others in which initial decisions were made by a small number of individuals, usually representing the administration of the local school system.

Conclusion 1.1. Extensive participation in the initial decisions about a project, including the selection of a sponsor, would appear to be desirable. It would be advantageous to include representatives of those groups whose cooperation is essential to the successful implementation of a project. Clearly, representation of parents is desirable, although

teachers as well as school principals should also be involved in the initial decision-making. By this means, they can begin to feel that they have some stake in the success of the project and that they will be able to exercise some control over the project activities.

Conclusion 1.2. At the time of project initiation, communities should attempt to establish some reasonably clear statement about project objectives. In the absence of such a statement, it is difficult to choose among alternative sponsors who may differ in the extent to which they are willing to support a particular set of objectives. There are additional implications for the operational specification of a program that can not readily be made without a statement of objectives. Finally, certain potential disagreements are likely to emerge as one attempts to clarify one's objectives; when these disagreements are identified early and openly, they are less likely to lead to bitterness and misunderstanding.

Conclusion 1.3. Although one often refers to Follow Through as a program of compensatory education or perhaps as a series of experiments in primary education, it is also an intervention[2] into an on-going social system (school system and community). As such, the success of local projects depends very significantly on their ability to act as change-agents in influencing these social institutions. In local projects, one can certainly observe examples of "resistance to change" which defeat the implementation of a project. Indeed, these resistances have little to do with the educational point of view that is being supported and are primarily a consequence of how the project is being implemented.

Conclusion 1.4. As a subsystem functioning as part of a larger system (the local school system), it is inevitable that a local project will "make waves" and that the successful implementation of the project will depend in part on the development of mechanisms for dealing constructively with these problems of interaction and mutual accommodation. In most existing projects, one can identify some one individual, often the Follow Through Director or perhaps a Coordinator of Federal Funds, who serves in a linking or liaison function; the skill with which this individual mediates between Follow Through and the school system appears to be particularly critical for the success of a local project. This is a difficult responsibility to carry out successfully; it can not be delegated to someone who is either inexperienced or who is not in a position to exercise influence throughout all parts of the school system. As is typical of anyone who functions as a mediator, this individual is vulnerable to expressions of disapproval from either side of the relationship. For example, the Follow Through staff may feel that the mediator proceeds too cautiously or is too protective of the "system" and of its customary methods of operation. On the other hand, experienced members of administration, particularly in staff positions, may have little understanding of the unusual requirements of Follow Through and may see no reason why established practices should be modified.

---

[2] There are some projects that may operate as "free schools," i.e., apart from an existing school system. Such projects are in the minority and must still operate so as to initiate certain changes within the community.

Conclusion 1.5. Communities differ in the care with which they choose among alternative sponsors and in the extent to which a common set of expectations is established at the time of initial agreement. It would appear to be particularly desirable for communities to be aware of the differences among sponsors and to decide beforehand whether or not they are prepared to commit themselves to the consequences of a particular sponsor's approach. Similarly, sponsors ought to be equally well-informed so that they can decide that they are prepared to commit themselves to the consequences of working with a particular community.

We should note that there were special difficulties for the first set of projects in making these choices. They had little opportunity to observe existing projects since there were very few already in existence. Thus, choices had to be made on the basis of impressions. In the future, communities will have much more extensive opportunities to become informed before making these choices.

After the initial decisions about a project have been made, an implementation stage may be said to begin and certain conclusions have been reached about this second stage of project development.

Conclusion 1.6. As a project begins to be implemented, the role of the sponsor's representative appears to be a particularly critical one since this individual is the key to the community's understanding of the sponsor's model and its operational implications. In addition to being knowledgeable about the sponsor's instructional model, this individual should possess a variety of other skills that are of equal importance. This individual has important functions not only as a trainer of teachers but as a trainer of trainers at all levels of responsibility. One can anticipate that the first few months of a project will be a period of stress and the sponsor's representative must possess certain human relations and supervisory skills in order to establish or maintain an effective working relationship with the project staff. The sponsor's representative must be able to deal constructively with these initial frustrations so as to help maintain staff morale and to avoid a situation in which the relationship between staff and sponsor's representative begins to deteriorate.

Conclusion 1.7. One should recognize that the functions of a sponsor's representative should be changing over the life of a project. Many of these training and human relations functions that are initially important will gradually be taken over by the local staff as they become more proficient at training, human relations, and liaison. Eventually, a successful sponsor's representative ought to be able to create a situation in which his or her services will no longer be essential. However, the sponsor's representative ought to continue to make a valuable contribution to project planning, which would include the completion of an annual review of the project functioning and planning for an additional year's activities.

Conclusion 1.8. For the successful implementation of an instructional component, the performance of the classroom team is of primary importance. Specifically, both sponsors reviewed in this report make use of a form of team teaching and similar practices are followed by many of the sponsors. More importantly, the role of the classroom teacher is of critical importance since she must function as the leader of this classroom team. In addition to being at least open minded about the possibilities of the sponsor's model, the successful classroom teacher must develop a variety of skills that are not always expected of teachers. These include: (a) to be able to work effectively in the classroom as the supervisor of other adults and as the coordinator of the team activites, (b) to be effective in the on-the-job training of these other adults and particularly those parents who may be working as part of the classroom team, (c) to be sensitive to the potential for disagreement in the classroom and for possible problems of morale and to be able to deal constructively with these difficulties, and (d) to be able to function effectively in a racially integrated setting as well as one in which variations in socio-economic and cultural backgrounds will be of considerable importance.

Conclusion 1.9. There are differences among sponsors' models with respect to the ease with which they can be implemented as part of a local project. Two initial differences would appear to be (a) the degree to which the sponsor's objectives can be operationally and behaviorally specified and (b) the ease with which curricula for the training of teachers and for the training of trainers of teachers can be developed. For example, there was an initial period during which Sponsor A's "behavior analysis" could be readily implemented because his classroom objectives were behaviorally specified and because of his emphasis on the development of well-defined training programs. Over time, Sponsor B has been able to eliminate certain difficulties, precisely by moving toward a behavioral specification of his objectives and by the development of more workable methods of training.

As a corollary, those support functions that are responsible for training will be at a disadvantage when objectives are not behaviorally specified and in the absence of workable training programs. In carrying out these support functions, a trainer must necessarily be sensitive to the problems of morale that may develop among those being trained. Moreover, the security of teachers and other classroom personnel is very much a function of their ability to master the sponsor's model and to learn to perform effectively in the classroom.

Conclusion 1.10. When the first projects were being implemented, they suffered somewhat from the fact that almost all members of the staff were necessarily inexperienced with the sponsor's model and somewhat insecure about their ability to perform effectively. Indeed, it has often been the case that the sponsor's representative could be included among those who were inexperienced. As projects begin to develop, these problems of inexperience begin to diminish, particularly as it becomes possible to either promote from within the staff or at least to recruit experienced personnel from outside of the project. For example, for an on-going project, one may promote an experienced teacher into the position of trainer of teachers, an experienced trainer into the position of Follow Through Coordinator, or a parent with classroom experience in Follow Through into the position of Parent Coordinator. Similarly, one might recruit a Follow Through Coordinator from another school system that had implemented a similar Follow Through project.

One would certainly recommend to new projects that may develop in the future that they recruit some individuals who have experience with the sponsor's model into positions of responsibility at the time that the project is about to be initiated.

Conclusion 1.11. With rare exceptions, Follow Through classrooms are located within existing schools. Each of these schools will have a principal who is "in charge" of the school and there will be teachers who are not associated with Follow Through. Thus, it should not be surprising to note that one can identify Follow Through projects that find themselves in conflict with either the principals or the non-Follow Through teachers and that these conflicts may significantly impede the successful implementation of the project. One can conclude that (a) principals should have some influence on the choice to be made among alternative sponsors, (b) that principals and perhaps teachers should participate in the decision to locate Follow Through classrooms in their school, based on some consideration of the possible advantages to be gained from having their schools participate in a Follow Through project.

Conclusion 1.12. Along similar lines, mechanisms should be developed to insure that each principal will remain actively involved with Follow Through and to provide for coordination between Follow Through and the participating schools. As a consequence, a principal ought to be reassured that his position as principal is being respected, that he or she will have an opportunity to become knowledgeable about the project, and that he or she has a continuing stake in the success of the project.

Conclusion 1.13. Projects differ in the way that they provide for liaison and coordination between the project and the school principals; i.e., the schools in which the projects operate. In some projects, this responsibility is clearly assigned to one member of the project staff, who works regularly and closely with the school principal and his associates. This appears to be a very desirable pattern to follow. In other projects, either the responsibility is never assigned or it is assigned ambiguously to a number of individuals. This latter appears to be undesirable. It is a very imperfect method of coordination, leading quite readily to confusion and serious misunderstanding.

Conclusion 1.14. One secondary effect of Follow Through is that issues involving broad policy implications are likely to arise, some of which are a consequence of the fact that Follow Through has the effect of introducing changes into the school system in general and individual schools in particular. These are issues that can not be handled by school principals operating independently. They can be more readily handled when the school superintendent is actively involved and when there are regular opportunities for discussion and decision-making among school principals , the school superintendent, and other relevant administrators. These mechanisms for system-wide coordination may well be particularly important in a large school system in which decision-making is more formal and in which policy-making is more highly centralized.

Conclusion 1.15. During the implementation phase, questions are inevitably raised about project effectiveness and about what is actually being accomplished. Different individuals may have different reasons for raising these questions but it is of concern to all participants in a local project. For example, the project staff needs to be able to assess what they are accomplishing, to reassure themselves that they are making progress, and to reorient their efforts in order to improve their effectiveness. Similarly, parents need to determine that their children are indeed making progress toward the achievement of recognizeable and important educational objectives. In addition, these data are of value to school boards and administrations as they attempt to assess project accomplishments and to prepare themselves for some decisions about the future of the project.

Conclusion 1.16. Although there were some initial expectations that SRI - the national evaluation effort - would be responsible for the monitoring of local project outcomes, the responsibility for monitoring project effectiveness has gradually been taken over by local projects, often with strong support from the sponsor. There are several reasons for this development. SRI collects data only in a sample of projects. More importantly, because of the magnitude of their effort, there is a considerable delay between the time of data collection and the availability of the data in the form of a report. As a result of this delay in feedback, the data collected by SRI are only of limited usefulness to the local projects. Finally, the analyses of the data that are most pertinent to the national evaluation are only of limited usefulness to the local projects who are often in a better position to analyze locally collected data so that they will be particularly pertinent to local needs.

Parent Involvement. As a matter of official Follow Through Policy, all projects are charged with the responsibility for the development of a program of parent participation and involvement.

All projects support activities of two kinds. First, there is the involvement of parents in the classroom as part of an instructional team. Secondly, there is the involvement of parents in the activities of the Policy Advisory Committee (PAC) so that they may take part in the support of Follow Through and in the process of decision-making.

From our observations of local projects, we have gradually formed some impressions about these programs of parent participation and particularly about how successful they have been. For example, these programs appear to develop slowly and with difficulty. It would appear to take two to three years in order to develop an active and successful program. In addition, some outside observers have been critical of local projects for not having been more successful with their programs of parent involvement. Indeed, some projects have been accused of giving half-hearted support to these activities and there are undoubtedly some communities in which such an accusation is warranted. Yet, for those communities with which we are familiar, we have reached a different conclusion, namely that it is very difficult to organize a successful program and that program development in this area is a slow and painstaking process. Moreover, there are some important barriers to participation that have to be overcome before such a program can begin to be successful. After all, many poor parents have reservations about the potential value of participating. They may also be somewhat afraid of teachers and school officials and be quite uncertain of the response they can expect to receive from these same individuals. In order to develop a successful program, one needs to be able to demonstrate to parents that their participation is of value and to help parents develop some confidence in the possibility that their contributions will be respected. Let us now look in more detail at some of the factors that seem particularly pertinent to the development of a successful program of parent involvement.

Conclusion 1.17. In a project, the role of the parent coordinator is particularly important. This individual is responsible for the development of a parent program, particularly in the initial stages of its development.

A common pattern of hiring is to recruit as coordinator a parent who is already established and respected in the community. This appears to be a very desirable pattern and one that has been followed in Communities A1 and A2. Such a person can build upon already established relationships. A coordinator who is already trusted can serve as a bridge between parents and the school system as parents begin to develop some confidence. Coordinators who are hired from outside of the community begin with a serious handicap. As unknown quantities, they are not likely to be trusted and there is little that they can do toward developing a program until they can establish themselves with local parents.

Conclusion 1.18. It would also appear to be desirable to have some parents involved in the initiation of the project and particularly in certain decisions such as the choice of a sponsor and the selection of a parent coordinator. Through such initial participation, parents can begin to understand the purposes of the project and to establish working relationships with some of the key members of the Follow Through staff.

Conclusion 1.19. As a first step in the development of a program, a focus on the involvement of parents in classroom activities seems to be particularly important. Primarily, this involves the recruitment and training of parents as classroom assistants. In most communities (depending in part on the sponsor's views), the position of a parent assistant is a rotating one so that a large number of parents can eventually have this experience. By taking part in classroom activities, parents have an opportunity to learn in detail about Follow Through, to have first hand experiences of what is being accomplished in the classroom, and to establish some cooperative working relationships with the Follow Through staff and with relevant officials of the school system.

As these parents become committed to the success of the program, they can assist in the further development and expansion of the program of parent involvement in a variety of ways. These experienced parents can assist in informing additional parents and in encouraging their participation. They are likely to be most helpful in the establishment of the PAC and in taking responsibility for some of its activities. In addition, most Follow Through projects will hire experienced parents to assist the parent coordinator and in the training of parents. Thus, an experienced parent assistant will have an opportunity to be promoted into other Follow Through staff positions.

Conclusion 1.20. The role of parent trainer is also a very important one. Consider the position of a parent who has just been hired to serve as a parent assistant. Quite likely, she will not have completed a high school education. She is likely to be quite anxious about her ability to perform in this new situation. She may also be quite uneasy about working with the Follow Through staff and about being treated with respect. The purpose of the training program is to prepare her for this new set of responsibilities and to provide her with the necessary emotional support.

Quite often, the parent trainer will be recruited locally and she may well have first worked with Follow Through as a parent assistant. Under these circumstances, parents have some basis for trusting her and she can be expected to empathize with them.

Conclusion 1.21. The parent trainer also needs support and advice from the sponsor's representative, particularly with respect to the organization of the program of training for parents. For example, both Sponsors A and B have recently developed Parent Trainer's Manuals. Each manual is essentially a curriculum for the training of parent aides. Initially, the parent trainer had the responsibility for training parents but had little guidance concerning what she was trying to accomplish or how to obtain any given set of training objectives. These training manuals are an important development for the improvement of these programs for the training of parents.

We should point out that the attitudes that parent assistants develop about Follow Through and that teachers develop about parents are very much influenced by what happens in the classroom. For example, when parents are given insufficient training and support, they can not be expected to function effectively in the classroom. Moreover, the experience is likely to be both frustrating and unsatisfactory. Under these circumstances, some difficulties between parent assistants and teachers are likely to arise and relationships based upon mutual respect are unlikely to develop. One can conclude that involving parents in a poorly organized program of classroom activities can be expected to hurt Follow Through rather than to help it.

Conclusion 1.22. When one observes a successful program of parent involvement in classroom activities, one also observes that parent involvement is viewed as an integral rather than an independent part of the total project activities. To put it in other terms, it appears to be undesirable to let a program of parent involvement operate in isolation from the rest of the project activities. For example, in Community B2, responsibility for parent involvement was delegated to a parent coordinator who worked very much in isolation. He also had little to do with the rest of the Follow Through staff, particularly those who were responsible for the instructional program. Eventually, it became apparent to parents as well as others that the parent coordinator knew very little about the sponsor's model, that he did not participate in any of the important decisions about Follow Through, and that he had little status with the rest of the Follow Through staff. To some extent, his relative isolation led to some problems of coordination between the main project activities and the program of parent involvement. More importantly, parents (as well as the parent coordinator) concluded that the program of parent involvement was somewhat of a farce: it was neither supported nor valued. It would appear that parent involvement can be recognized as of value only when the program is viewed as an integral part of the project activities and when the parent coordinator is clearly included in the decision-making process.

Perhaps as a corollary, a successful program of parent involvement in classroom activities requires the active support of teachers, school principals, and other school administrators. For example, in Community A1, the school principal clearly supports all aspects of Follow Through and potential difficulties with teachers have been substantially minimized. Thus, parents feel that their contributions in the classroom are of value. In Community A2, where the school principals partially resent the disruptive effects of Follow Through, there have been difficulties in the classroom involving teachers and parents. Parents are also aware of the negative views of the principals. The effects are clearly disadvantageous for the development of a strong program of parent involvement.

Conclusion 1.23. Support for a broader program of parent involvement, centering around the PAC, seems to depend in part upon the successful development of involvement with classroom activities. Of course, both sets of activities will begin simultaneously, but participation in PAC meetings and activities appears to develop after parents have developed some confidence about their involvement with classroom and school-related activities.

We would like to suggest the following explanation for this particular observation. A major purpose of the PAC is to facilitate parent participation in the decision making about the project. Initially, at least, parents may not feel that this objective is either meaningful or realistic. To be specific, it is difficult to participate in decision making about the project until one knows something about it and how it operates. More importantly, one has to become convinced that the project itself is of value and worth supporting. On the other hand, parents are interested in the education that their children are receiving: a good instructional program is something of obvious value. Thus, as parents become knowledgeable about the project and convinced that it is important, then it becomes more meaningful to want to have some influence on the functioning of the project.

In addition, parents are somewhat skeptical that they will actually be permitted to participate or that their views will have any influence. Through participation in classroom activities, they may begin to develop relationships to teachers and school officials that are encouraging. The net effect is to build some confidence that their participation will be respected and that it is realistic to engage in the PAC activities. In short, we are attempting to suggest that confidence in the PAC is built up over time and is based partly on knowledge of Follow Through, on a commitment to its objectives, and on the establishment of some effective working relationships to teachers, Follow Through staff and other school officials.

Conclusion 1.24. For a local PAC to develop, it is important that a number of parents begin to take on positions of responsibility and leadership. Initially, the success of the PAC is likely to depend a great deal on the energy and leadership skills of the Parent Coordinator. But it is clearly important that the PAC begin to function independently and to take over responsibility for its own activities. For example, in Community A1, there was quite a successful program with the Parent Coordinator having a dominant role in many of the PAC activities. The PAC became more inactive when this Coordinator resigned; the new Coordinator is having to work very hard in order to revitalize the activities that previously existed.

In addition, there is clearly a need for the development of leadership training programs for the support of PAC activities, perhaps resembling the training programs that have been designed for the support of classroom involvement. For example, in Community B2 attempts are being made to develop a leadership training program with the aid of some Adult Educators at a local university. Much more needs to be done in order to help develop local leadership for support of the PAC activities.

Conclusion 1.25. Some PAC's have been quite active in the support of social programs, such as trips to local theatres, pot-luck suppers, sponsorship of a monthly newsletter, etc. And some outsiders have questioned the wisdom of this involvement in "social" activities. Yet, these activities have one very important effect: they help to build better relationships among parents, to develop some sense of cohesiveness among parents, and to develop a commitment to the PAC activities. Such developments are clearly of value in the long run.

These activities may be of particular value when Follow Through parents are scattered throughout the community or when the Follow Through project operates through several local schools. Under these circumstances, relationships among parents may not already exist and the development of such relationships among parents can contribute to the strengthening of the PAC as well as the total program of parent involvement.

Conclusion 1.26. As parents become involved in classroom activities, partly as paid employees of the school system, one can anticipate that certain difficulties will arise. For the success of the program of parent involvement, it is important that these difficulties can be dealt with openly and constructively and that reasonable solutions to these difficulties can be advanced. For example, there are a variety of personnel questions that can be expected to arise. How much should parents be paid in the classroom?

Under what circumstances can a parent assistant be fired for repeated absence or incompetence? Will pay rates for parents be reviewed on an annual basis just as teachers' are? Are parents entitled to sick leave, paid holidays, etc.? Under what circumstances can they be promoted? What we are trying to suggest is that the program of classroom activities will have to evolve and change as these and similar issues are raised. Confidence in Follow Through and in the school system can be expected to develop when issues can be dealt with constructively and can be expected to be destroyed when these issues can not be dealt with constructively.

Conclusion 1.27. In similar fashion, as PAC activities develop and parents begin to participate in decision making about Follow Through, one can expect that some conflict will develop between the PAC, the school system, and perhaps other parts of the community. For example, should the PAC participate in the recruitment and hiring of parent assistants and teachers as well? How active a role should the PAC play in the writing of the annual Follow Through proposal for funds? Again, as a program of parent involvement develops, one needs to be able to deal with these emerging conflicts and to help bring about some evolutionary changes in the role of the PAC and its relationship to Follow Through.

Having a Lasting Impact. There is one final topic that we propose to discuss that relates to the achievement of long-range rather than short-range project objectives. In the short-run, a major project objective is to implement a particular innovative program with an emphasis on an instructional component and on parent involvement. By implication, a short-run objective is to demonstrate the effectiveness of these innovative activities.

But what are the long-run objectives for these local projects? Interestingly enough, this is a rather difficult question to answer. In the Follow Through Guidelines, there is no clear distinction made between the short-run and the long-run, although there is an indication that some conclusions should be reached based upon the demonstration effort (the planned variation) that will be useful and applicable on a broader scale. Similarly, staff members associated with local projects usually find it difficult to give a clear description of long-run objectives. After all, they find themselves almost completely absorbed with more immediate concerns and in improving the effectiveness of the existing efforts.

However, at the level of the school superintendent, one may occasionally obtain a clearer statement of long-run objectives:

1. As conclusions are reached about the effectiveness of certain features of the program, one ought to attempt to adapt these features for use on a broader basis within the school system.

2. By broader use, one might want to consider broader applications within those schools that are already part of the Follow Through project. Alternatively, one might want to consider applications to other schools within the school system which are not as yet associated with Follow Through.

After talking to school superintendents, one can also make some predictions about what is not likely to happen in the long-run.

1. The demonstration effort is not likely to continue indefinitely as a demonstration program. Federal funding for such an effort is likely to come to an end. In addition, when Federal funds are no longer available, it is unlikely that full funding for the present projects will be obtained from local communities or with the approval of local school boards. After all, costs per pupil in Follow Through are about twice the cost per pupil in non-Follow Through classrooms. At some point in time, one can expect that non-Follow Through parents are likely to want "equal treatment" for their children. And for budgeting reasons, it seems unrealistic to expect that the Follow Through effort as it now operates would be funded locally for

expansion into all of the schools in any given school system.

2. Moreover, as one looks at the successful and desirable features of local projects, one begins to realize that it is somewhat misleading to refer to the Follow Through effort as a program of "Compensatory Education". Are these innovations applicable only to poor children; is their use limited to settings which are in some sense compensatory? The answer would appear to be that the successes within the program of planned variation are simply improvements in education: they are potentially applicable in a variety of settings, rather than being limited to programs that are viewed as compensatory.

3. Thus, one can anticipate that Follow Through projects are likely to have a lasting impact to the extent that they can be viewed as good education as well as good compensatory education. Hopefully, in the long-run, desirable features of the project efforts would be routinely incorporated into the functioning of the school system.

At the present time, projects are still primarily involved with the pursuit of short-run objectives. However, there are a few observations that one can make that are pertinent to the problems of having a lasting impact.

Conclusion 1.28. There is a tendency for local projects to operate somewhat in isolation from the rest of the school system to the end that those individuals not actively involved with Follow Through have little direct contact with Follow Through. As a result of this isolation, there are some undesirable consequences, particularly for the long-run. For example, in Community A1, there are three schools serving primarily poor children in which the Follow Through project might have been located. Actually, the project efforts are located within only one of these schools, although school officials feel that the program might be eventually expanded into the other two schools. Unfortunately, the principals of these two schools have developed somewhat negative attitudes about Follow Through based rather significantly on a limited knowledge of what has been happening. It is clear that these two principals have worked very hard in order to introduce improvements into their respective schools. Yet, they have the impression that they receive little credit for their efforts and that the Follow Through school receives an undue amount of attention and recognition. In a sense, principals compete with each other and these principals feel that they are being treated unfairly. Whether their grievances are legitimate or not is beside the point. What is important is that they have developed some negative impressions of Follow Through and have little interest in the possible incorporation of features of Follow Through into their own schools.

In Communities B1 and B2, Follow Through was first included in certain schools in which there was a large concentration of poor children. Within the communities, these schools have the reputation of being located in "poor" neighborhoods. Subsequently, attempts were made to introduce Follow Through into some "middle-class" schools. But the principals of these schools as well as some parents resisted these efforts. They had reached the conclusion that Follow Through was for poor children and that it was a remedial program. Thus, they were insulted by the suggestion that Follow Through might be appropriate for their schools and for their children. Again, both principals and parents were misinformed. We are suggesting that it is dangerous for Follow Through to operate in isolation from the rest of the school system. Under these circumstances, non-Follow Through schools are likely to be misinformed and to reach erroneous conclusions. More importantly, individuals may come to resent the special treatment being given to Follow Through schools and to resist having any future involvement with the Follow Through project.

Conclusion 1.29. We can identify at least two mechanisms for maintaining more effective communications between Follow Through and other portions of the school system. During the past year, Sponsor A has been attempting to establish Model Management Committees as a regular feature of each local project with which he is associated. These committees might be viewed as steering or advisory committees to Follow Through projects. Included on these committees would be key Follow Through staff members, the sponsor's representative, the principals of all schools associated with Follow Through, representatives from the PAC, plus several administrators, representing the school system. These committees provide for regular communications between Follow Through projects and school systems, namely those parts that are currently affected by Follow Through. There are also opportunities for coordination of effort and joint planning.

A different and broader set of mechanisms has been employed in Community B2, mainly through the influence of the school superintendent. He views Follow Through as one of the major innovative efforts taking place in the school system. He meets on a regular basis with all school principals and with a "Superintendent's Council", made up of all senior administrators on the central staff. However, principals are frequently invited to participate in these council meetings. Follow Through is a frequent topic of discussion at these meetings. What is important is that the superindentent uses these meetings in order to establish a long-range context within which the Follow Through experience can be evaluated. In addition, he attempts to establish the perspective that the entire school system has a stake in the success of Follow Through and in learning from its experience. This approach would appear to be particularly valuable for the development of long-range plans and for providing for participation of the total school system in the Follow Through experience.

Conclusion 1.30. Some Follow Through projects operate quite successfully even though the project has little contact with the school superintendent and even though he may have minimal involvement with the project activities. Such a method of operation would appear to be appropriate for the achievement of short-run objectives but highly inappropriate when one considers the problems of having a lasting impact or of the formulation of long-range objectives. We would predict that long-range objectives will never be pursued without active leadership on the part of the school superintendent. Moreover, it would appear that some planning with respect to the long-run implications of Follow Through should begin as early as possible. Through such planning, the school system as a whole should be able to participate in the Follow Through experience, to participate in the evaluation of the demonstration project, and to learn to recognize that the system as a whole has a stake in the success of the Follow Through effort.

Sponsors and Their Programs

With a few exceptions, sponsors' programs originated as an educational innovation. With the support of Follow Through, sponsors were then given an opportunity to build an organization in order to export the innovation and to implement it in a variety of local settings. Thus, a sponsor is not unlike an inventor who forms a company in order to market the product he has just invented. There are perhaps two main headings under which conclusions about sponsors can be organized. The first has to do with their success in building an organization in support of their programs while the second has to do with the special contribution of sponsors (as outsiders) to the success of the local projects.

Sponsor Organizations.

Conclusion 2.1. Initially, at least, sponsors tended to underestimate the importance of building an effective organization in support of their program of activities. This should not be at all surprising since their interest was in the development of an innovative "model", along with a supporting rationale. More importantly, since sponsors are not directly responsible for the implementation of their programs (i.e., they don't actually teach in local classrooms, although they may train teachers), they have had to identify a variety of supporting functions that are of value and to build an organization that will make available these forms of support to the local projects.

Conclusion 2.2. This initial group of sponsors was handicapped by the fact that there was no obvious administrative or organizational model to which they could turn for guidance. In the future, newly recruited sponsors should be able to profit from these initial trial-and-error experiences in building and staffing their own organizations.

Conclusion 2.3. Considering the two sponsor organizations with which we are most familiar, both were organized initially around one or two key individuals (the sponsors) who played a dominant role in the evolution of these programs. As these organizations have developed, the role of the sponsor has changed rather dramatically as the purposes of the sponsor's organization are clarified, as the organization becomes more differentiated, and as a variety of responsibilities are delegated to others. Thus, there is an evolution from a situation in which one or two individuals are responsible for all major decisions to one in which responsibility for decision-making is delegated on the basis of function. Similarly, there is a reorientation such that the primary emphasis is no longer on the development of the sponsor's "model" and becomes focused instead on the development of an organization in support of the implementation of that model.

Conclusion 2.4. As the sponsor's organization begins to achieve some stability, the role of the sponsor as head of the organization focuses more and more on the following functions:

(1) on the relationships between the sponsor's program and the Follow Through Branch, particularly with respect to the development of long-run plans for Follow Through;

(2) on the development of a long-run strategy to be followed by the sponsor, based upon some expectations about the future of Follow Through and of the role of sponsors in a possibly revised program;

(3) on the maintenance of certain activities for monitoring the effectiveness of the sponsor's organization and for introducing changes into the organization designed to improve its functioning;

(4) on the maintenance of some sense of purpose for the organization, on some continuing commitment to a set of organizational objectives and to the importance of those objectives. More importantly, we would assume that these objectives have to evolve if they are to continue to seem important. In this respect, the possible shift in emphasis within Follow Through from a demonstration phase to a large-scale implementation phase would appear to be helpful since it opens up the possibility of a similar reorientation in the objectives of the individual sponsors' programs.

Conclusion 2.5. These sponsors both rely on a field representative who is responsible for relationships between sponsor and local project. The skill with which this individual carries out his or her responsibilities is of critical importance and, only gradually, has it been possible to identify the skills required of this individual and the support that he or she would need in working with a local project.

For example, field representatives have always been expected to be knowledgeable about the sponsor's model. It has also become apparent that they must possess skills in the areas of human relationships and organizational planning in order to be successful. When projects are first being initiated, there are some special burdens on the field representative who may become the focus of all the anxieties that are developing within the project. In order to deal with these circumstances, the field representative needs considerable support from the sponsor's staff both in the form of suggestions on materials for use as well as in the form of emotional support.

Conclusion 2.6. Sponsors have gradually had to develop some realistic procedures for monitoring the effectiveness of these local projects. Initially, there was the expectation that SRI would be able to carry out this responsibility; in our opinion, this expectation was not particularly realistic since the needs of local projects are not particularly congruent with the needs of a large-scale national evaluation effort. For example, each project needs its own data and a design that will take into account those policy questions that must be answered at the local level. In general, these are policy questions that are pertinent to long-range planning for that particular project. Both sponsors included in this study have gradually increased their emphasis on the development of appropriate monitoring procedures. As a consequence, there has been some emphasis on a behavioral (i.e., measureable) specification of the sponsor's objectives, on the development of appropriate methods of measurement, and on procedures for the analysis of data that would organize data into a form that is both informative and timely.

Conclusion 2.7. Data for the assessment of project performance are of value to the project in a variety of ways. They are of value to the project staff in helping them to improve and redirect their efforts while they also help to reassure the staff about the progress that is being made. The data are of considerable value for parents and other school officials in helping to inform them about the effectiveness of the program. The data are also of value at such times as policy decisions must be made about the future of the project within the individual school system. Thus, assessment data serve certain short-run objectives associated with demonstrating the effectiveness of the project as well as more long-run objectives associated with decisions for the future based upon experiences accumulated within the demonstration phase.

Sponsor Contributions to Local Projects. There remains the question of how one evaluates the special contribution made by sponsors to the successful inplementation of these projects.

Conclusion 2.8. One major contribution of the sponsors is to provide for the support of the local staff during the implementation phase. In this sense, the local staff are directly responsible for the classroom activities and for the development of a program of parent involvement. The sponsor plays a major role in furnishing materials (curriculum) in support of these activities and in the establishment of a program for the training of teachers and for the training of trainers.

In some projects, we have been able to observe the unfortunate consequences that can be anticipated if the sponsor is unable to fulfill these requirements for support. For example, Sponsor B's relationship to projects appears to have improved as his field representatives have begun to place greater emphasis on materials and curriculum suggestions in support of classroom activities. Similarly, both sponsors appear to be placing greater emphasis on the development of materials to assist in the training of parents and in support of a program of parent involvement. Moreover, projects appear to have suffered whenever the sponsor's field representative was unable to establish an effective working relationship to the local staff and, therefore, was unable to be effective in carrying out his or her responsibilities in support of a training program.

In this respect, one should note that the sponsor's representative may be viewed as a communications link through whom the support furnished by the sponsor's organization can be made available to a local project. Thus, the sponsor's representative must rely in turn on forms of support that are made available to him by the sponsor's organization.

Conclusion 2.9. Assuming that a Follow Through project must act as a change agent within an existing school system, the sponsor fulfills a very important function as a catalyst in facilitating this process of change. For example, during the stage of project initiation, a local school system has to make certain critical decisions about the choice of a sponsor and about the project that it proposes to undertake. In making these decisions, the project is in essence defining a shared objective for the project as well as an initial commitment to the accomplishment of this objective. This would appear to be an important first step in initiating a process of change. We refer to the sponsor as a catalyst in the sense that the sponsor is not directly responsible for the establishment of project objectives; but these objectives would appear to be an essential by-product of the negotiations between sponsor, project, and Follow Through, and of the necessity for choosing among alternative sponsors.

Secondly, beginning with the stage of project initiation and continuing throughout the stage of project implementation, certain decisions are made that establish some expectations about the likelihood of change, that establish some mechanisms for decision-making about change, and which provide for the support of individuals who will be involved in these processes of change. The involvement of the school superintendent and his staff, the establishment of a liaison function between project and school system, and the establishment of some procedures for making decisions about the project are all pertinent to establishing and maintaining an orientation that is open to change. Again, the sponsor and his representatives can function as catalysts in the sense that they can participate as change-agents and, as outsiders, are not subject to the organizational constraints under which most regular employees of a school system must operate.

Conclusion 2.10. Almost as a corollary of the previous conclusion, one can also conclude that project success is partly a function of those decisions that either facilitate or hamper the process of change within a school system. Moreoever, the differential success of these four projects may be viewed as examples of differential success in the management of a program of change and innovation. Thus, in some projects, initial decisions have led to the establishment of a shared objective while in other projects, this initial stage in the process of change has been handled quite imperfectly. Similarly, one can observe certain decisions about the initial structuring of a project, which tend to isolate the project from the school system, which establish initially the expectation that there will be little change, and which lead project staff members to feel very uncertain about the consequences for them of participating in a program of change. However, in other projects, one can observe rather different decisions which maintain the project as an integral part of the school system and which establish positive expectations about the need for and the desirability of change.

Conclusion 2.11. By comparison with certain other programs in which there has been considerable resistance to change within school systems, we suggest that it is of major importance that the objectives of these projects be broad enough in scope to be challenging and to seem important, and yet narrow enough in scope (i.e., with sufficient focus) so that the objectives can be perceived as meaningful and achievable and so that participants can agree on their importance. Although a full documentation of this point is beyond the scope of this report, we would like to advance this "conclusion" as a reasonable and potentially important hypothesis. By way of contrast, Marris and Rein have reviewed the success of a number of projects, all of which may be included under the heading of Community Action Projects. More importantly, one objective of these projects was to attempt to bring about a program of change within schools.[3] From their report, one has to conclude that success was very limited and that serious difficulties were frequently encountered. However, one has also the impression that these efforts were broader in scope than are the Follow Through projects. As a result, a variety of objectives were pursued which had little in common except that they were all directed at school "reforms" and which were potentially in competition with each other. Under these circumstances, it is not surprising that it is difficult to reach agreement about a shared objective or about a strategy for its accomplishment.

One should also note one important advantage to a limited and measureable objective. One is in a position to monitor its achievement, to recognize that limited progress is being made, and to identify ways in which corrective action might be taken in order to improve the effectiveness of the program. When the possibilities for assessment are absent, one has little basis for confidence in what one is doing and little basis for modifying one's efforts in order to improve their effectiveness.

Conclusion 2.12. We have identified two major functions performed by sponsors in providing for the support of local staff and in assisting as facilitators in a process of organizational change. It also follows that these two functions complement each other and both are essential for the success of local projects. As a catalyst, the sponsor can help to establish a context within which some desirable changes are possible. However, there are always risks involved and the local staff cannot proceed to carry out their responsibilities unless provisions have been made for the support of their activities and in support of a program of change.

---

[3] P. Marris and M. Rein. Dilemmas of Social Reform. New York: Atherton, 1969. pp. 58-70.

There is one final issue which we propose to address. Having concluded that the sponsors did play an important role in the success of these projects, how important is the role of sponsor likely to be in the future, taking into account the possible expansion of the Follow Through program? In other words, now that some successful projects are in existence, can one dispense with the services of the sponsors? In our judgment, sponsors will continue to play an important role, although perhaps an altered one, in any proposed expansion of the Follow Through program. Our reasons are as follows:

1. To the extent that the sponsor functions as a catalyst in establishing a context within which change can take place, we would suggest that some outside influence is needed in order to perform this essential function. Although internal support from a school superintendent and a school board is needed, they are not in the position to take on the active responsibilities that are undertaken by the sponsor.

2. Conceivably, some of the training methods could be written up in the form of training manuals and the curriculum could be organized in the form of a series of work books. In this sense, one might reduce the need for a sponsor. Perhaps, one could minimize but not eliminate the need for the sponsor in support of the local projects. One advantage of the sponsor is that he is continually in a position to modify training programs and educational approaches in the light of experience and to meet the particular needs of a given local project. With the sponsor eliminated, approaches become more inflexible and less responsive to the individual needs of projects. In addition, one should not underestimate the emotional support provided by the sponsor's representative to local staff during the stage of project implementation.

3. Finally, one might conclude that one could use the staff of an established project to serve as sponsors to a newly initiated project. This is a possibility that should be explored although we would predict that the sponsor's representative can be very helpful in making a success of such an effort. After all, local staff are aware that the sponsor has been helpful but not necessarily how he or she has been helpful. Thus, someone from a local staff can become of help to another project to the extent that he or she can begin to take on the role of sponsor representative to another project. In this respect, this staff member would need the same or similar training as had been previously available to a sponsor's representative and the same forms of support as had been available through the sponsor's organization.

The Evaluation Effort

Throughout most of the period covered by this report, the Stanford Research Institute has had the primary responsibility for the implementation of the evaluation effort. Only recently, with the writing of separate contracts to the Huron Institute and Abt Associates, has a portion of this responsibility been delegated to others.

Although one talks quite naturally about the evaluation effort as if it were a single activity, it is important to recognize that there was actually a wide variety of activities carried out by SRI. We have found it useful to refer to several activities as associated with a summative evaluation of Follow Through. These include the SRI responsibility for the assessment of cognitive change in children, for the collection and processing of these data, and for the establishment and maintenance of a field staff responsible for the collection of these data. In some closely related activities, SRI has been responsible for interviews with parents, teachers, and teacher aides and for some classroom observations.

We have found it useful to refer to certain other activities as devoted to a program of research and development focusing on the assessment of noncognitive change and on the assessment of institutional and community development.

As one observes these SRI efforts, one can not fail to observe the differential success of SRI in carrying out this variety of responsibilities. To be specific, SRI has been quite successful in the management of its very complex data collection activities and in the organization of a field staff responsible for this effort. Similarly, there has been significant success with the parent inverviews and with the effort devoted to classroom observations. However, SRI has been much less successful in its development of plans for the analysis of these data. Indeed, it is these responsibilities for planning and analysis which have been more recently delegated to the Huron Institute and Abt Associates. Finally, SRI has experienced considerable difficulty with its efforts devoted to noncognitive assessment and institutional and social change. These efforts have been substantially abandoned rather than being reassigned to some alternative agency.

However, in order to comprehend the evolution of this evaluation effort, its successes as well as its disappointments, we have found it important to remind ourselves of the variety of constraints within which SRI had to operate. By and large, these were influences over which SRI had little control and yet they influenced most major decisions about the development of the SRI effort. They fall into two rather different categories. On the one hand, there are those that help define the objectives of the evaluation effort and the variety of tasks that must be included. On the other hand, there are other considerations that help define a set of desired relationships that should exist between SRI and other components in the Follow Through program. These latter constraints influence the process of reaching decisions and imply that certain internal resources must be committed to the establishment and maintenance of the desired set of relationships.

Within these constraints, SRI was free to make decisions about its own organization and administrative procedures. We shall attempt to set down some conclusions both about the influence of these external influences on SRI as well as about the internal decisions that affected the SRI effort.

The influence of external constraints.

Conclusion 3.1. The initial aspirations for the evaluation effort were that it be sufficiently broad in scope to include emphases on cognitive and noncognitive change in individual children, to demonstrate causal relationships between these changes as the dependent variables and various aspects of the program of planned variation as independent variables, while also including an emphasis on institutional and community change. Let us note that the scope of this effort can be defended in the sense that all of it is relevant to the overall objectives of Follow Through and all of it is relevant to an insightful interpretation of the consequences of this program of social intervention. Yet, in retrospect, these aspirations are extremely ambitious and the difficulties of achieving them were seriously underestimated.

There is a related aspiration that is important even though it was rarely made explicit. This was that the component activities making up the evaluation effort should be organized into an integrated program. The alternative would be to permit the major parts to operate in an autonomous fashion, in which case one would be supporting a set of evaluation efforts, with an emphasis on the plurality of objectives. This desire for integration makes the achievement of a successful program all the more difficult. In a sense, one is asking for a major intellectual achievement representing a synthesis of material in four fields: education and learning theory, child development, organizational and community change, as well as theories of educational measurement, experimental design, and evaluation.

Let us assume (perhaps a questionable assumption), that the development of such an integrated effort would be beyond the capabilities of an interdisciplinary team of scholars and, that at some point in time, some one or two individuals would have to make a major contribution to the development of such an integrated point of view. Somewhat facetiously, we have occasionally asked ourselves if we knew anyone capable of accomplishing such a synthesis: i.e., someone who combined the wisdom of Piaget, Bruner, Skinner, Campbell and Stanley, plus two or three of the foremost living theorists of organizational change. By implication, we are setting up the requirements for an intellectual superman and we have never been able to identify anyone who appeared to possess all of these qualifications.

In short, the expectations communicated to SRI about the objectives of evaluation were extremely ambitious, wholly appropriate to the objectives of Follow Through, and probably unachievable within any reasonable time scale. A more modest set of expectations might have been much more appropriate.

Conclusion 3.2. There is one interesting consequence of these initial aspirations for those key individuals who found themselves responsible for the development of such a program. If an individual accepts these aspirations as reasonable, then it follows that he ought to be able to master and comprehend in his own mind the totality of effort that is being undertaken: to commit himself to similar aspirations for evaluating his own performance. Thus, we are describing a situation in which an individual may easily trap himself into attempting what is likely to be impossible. Indeed, Sorensen has indicated that he only gradually realized the magnitude of what he himself was trying to accomplish and that it was a great disappointment to have to acknowledge that he could not maintain a mastery of all aspects of the evaluation effort. What we are suggesting is that the aspirations for the total program became translated into criteria for evaluating the accomplishments of those individuals who were responsible for the program. If the program aspirations were unrealistically ambitious then it followed that these key individuals were likely to establish for themselves --

a desired set of accomplishments that was equally unachievable. Indeed, this form of analysis helps to explain the extraordinary tension under which certain key individuals operated. As a side issue, these same individuals were all too often preoccupied with their shortcomings and too little consoled by what they had actually accomplished.

Conclusion 3.3. Partly as a consequence of the emphasis on an integrated program of evaluation, it was very difficult for either SRI or Follow Through to acknowledge explicitly that they were actually responsible for two programs, one that might be labeled assessment and evaluation with the other labeled research and development. By way of analogy, let us imagine a company which operates a) a factory that turns out products for sale as well as b) a laboratory designed to develop new products or product improvements which might eventually be manufactured. It is standard practice that these two efforts be administratively separated and not managed as a single activity.

Now, from an administrative as well as a contractual point of view, SRI was constrained to operate as if it were responsible for a single effort. We would suggest that this was inappropriate. One set of activities associated with the main data collection and data processing effort might well have been treated as a relatively autonomous evaluation effort and the remaining activities as a separate program of research and development.

There appear to have been certain disfunctional consequences that follow from this assumption that SRI was responsible for a single integrated program of activities.

a) For an initial period of approximately two years, the importance, challenge, and complexity of the evaluation effort (the main data collection activities) were underestimated as significant emphasis was placed on the program of research and development and on the difficulties of getting these efforts underway. In part, this may have been a consequence of the unfortunate tendency in American social science to give lower status to applied social science and to underestimate the complexity of large-scale data collection efforts.

b) In somewhat similar fashion, there has been a tendency to underestimate what SRI has actually accomplished. When one is critical of the program, one tends to focus on the research and development effort as if this were the only effort. Thus, one can easily fail to give sufficient credit to what has been accomplished with the evaluation effort and can easily forget that the largest single portion of SRI's budget is committed to evaluation.

Conclusion 3.4. Interestingly enough, as the relationship between SRI and the Follow Through Branch became more critical and as USOE became more concerned about the status of the evaluation effort, SRI began to adapt so as to emphasize the evaluation effort at the expense of the research and development activities. For example, SRI's administrative procedures began to emphasize the importance of schedules, deadlines, products, and deliverables in order to satisfy those officials to whom they were primarily responsible for the continuation of their contract. This emphasis on well-defined administration was quite appropriate for the evaluation effort and functional for that set of activities. It was much less appropriate for the activities that might be labeled as research and development and had disfunctional consequences for the management of these activities. To return to our analogy, it is as if one developed one set of procedures to apply to the production effort and assumed that these would be equally appropriate for the management of a research and development laboratory. In short, SRI had a tendency to develop administrative procedures that would have to be equally applicable to all of its activities. If there had been a recognition that they were responsible for two programs with rather different administrative requirements, then it would have been more natural to develop separate procedures that would have been more appropriate for each of them.

Conclusion 3.5. What might have been the consequences of breaking up the SRI program into a set of programs which might have been separately funded and might have been administered through independent contracts to separate contracting agencies? Let us make it clear that one can make a very strong case for justifying a single contract and a single program of effort. With a single contract, one can emphasize the need for integration among the separate activities and the desirability of developing a single, coherent frame of reference for the interpretation of all of these activities. Perhaps, what was underestimated were the administrative difficulties of developing and maintaining an organization that could carry out such an integrated program of activities. Thus, there is a kind of trade-off between the potential advantages of an integrated product and the disadvantages of maintaining an organization that can produce such an integration. Based upon the advantages of hindsight, we conclude that the dysfunctional consequences of an integrated effort more than outweighed the functional consequences and that the funding of several separate contracts would have been more appropriate.

Interestingly enough, during the past year, Follow Through has moved toward an emphasis on separate contracts for the achievement of limited objectives. This is essentially the implication of one contract to SRI for the collection of data, another to the Huron Institute for assistance in planning, and a third to Abt Associates for the analysis of data. Moreover, as a consequence of past difficulties, the emphasis on a possible program of research and development has been largely abandoned.

Conclusion 3.6. In many respects, the idea that the evaluation effort would be collaborative and that all of Follow Through would have an opportunity to participate in the development of such an effort is a very appealing one. But the complications that it introduced into the decision-making process were rather unfortunate and seriously compromised the ability of SRI to carry out its responsibilities. Moreover, SRI was thus forced to commit effort and resources to the maintenance of an appropriate set of relationships to sponsors and projects. Some of the more important implications were as follows:

a) It was difficult for the collaborative effort to make progress or to have any sustained impact on SRI. After all, the large review meetings were held quite infrequently. At these meetings, the total SRI effort was open to review and it was difficult to focus on specific questions or to maintain any continuity from one meeting to the next. Thus, the meetings tended to be repetitious and to have little cumulative effect.

b) In this collaborative effort, involving sponsors, projects, parents, general consultants, etc., there was the expectation that all participants had an equal opportunity to influence. Yet, in point of fact, some participants were "more equal" than others. Specifically, the key decisions, particularly about evaluation rather than research and development, would be made by the Follow Through Branch, USOE, OEO, and, in general, those who were responsible for the contract between Follow Through and SRI. Thus, the idea that there would be collaboration in all of the decisions was somewhat of an illusion and led to some misunderstandings.

d) We would also suggest that different stakeholders in the Follow Through program approached the SRI effort from rather different points of view and that these differences were not fully reconcilable. Specifically, sponsors and projects had a stake in a formative assessment and in a program of research and development. They were somewhat threatened by an evaluation effort that was summative and tolerated it as a necessary evil. Yet, those individuals in Washington who were responsible for the SRI contract had to be interested in a summative evaluation and in the collection of data that would be pertinent to reaching some policy decisions about the future of Follow Through.

Conclusion 3.7. In retrospect, we would recommend that there should have been some limits placed on the possibilities for collaboration with SRI and that an expectation might have been established that collaboration on certain decisions would not be feasible. In this respect, there might have been opportunities to advise SRI and to make suggestions but without the expectation that SRI was under any obligation to follow those suggestions.

Conclusion 3.8. In some limited respects, a useful form of collaboration did develop between SRI, sponsors, and local projects with certain sponsors being a key to the success of this collaboration. For example, there was successful collaboration on the development of a program of classroom observations and the parent interviews. We would suggest that collaboration was most effective when sponsors agreed to accept some responsibility for the planning and execution of an activity along with the opportunity to participate in making decisions about that activity. When these conditions were not met, there was a tendency for sponsors to underestimate the complexity of what was being undertaken. They were then free to criticize but were much less likely to make a constructive contribution to the development of plans. In short, we are proposing that collaboration might have been organized about specific activities and that one might have to agree to accept some working responsibilities in order to become involved in the decision-making process.

Conclusion 3.9. As another part of the collaborative effort, there was the expectation that the evaluation effort would be a "joint venture", i.e., the joint responsibility of SRI and the Follow Through Branch. There were certainly compelling reasons why Follow Through had to participate in the development of the program. One major reason was that Follow Through wanted to maintain an emphasis on research and evaluation and would not be satisfied with a program that would primarily emphasize a summative evaluation. The intentions were admirable. But the administrative complexity of a joint venture was significantly underestimated and SRI was seriously handicapped by its collaborative relationship to the Follow Through Branch.

We can describe the situation with an analogy. Consider a Research Scientist who has served as Director of an industrial laboratory and is then promoted to be in charge of all laboratories within that company. At first, after having been promoted, he may well be tempted to over-control his old laboratory and to assume that he knows more about running that laboratory than does the new Director. Yet, to the extent that he exercises too much control, he will only interfere and impede the activities of the laboratory. Similarly, we conclude that a clearer and fuller delegation of responsibility should have been made to SRI. Under these circumstances, SRI might still have failed but the process of reaching decisions would have been simplified and they would have been freer to utilize their own resources to the best of their ability.

Conclusion 3.10. It is important that we do not overlook the fact that the constraints within which the Follow Through Branch operated were changing during this period of time and these changes had important consequences for working relationships between Follow Through and SRI. For some time, Follow Through was very much in control of its own affairs and was able to maintain an emphasis on research and evaluation. During this period, there was the best opportunity for the joint venture between Follow Through and SRI to be successful. However, as Follow Through became vulnerable to criticism from its superiors, the emphasis on results and performance began to be primary and the joint venture became less and less viable. In this respect, SRI has been responding to circumstances over which neither they nor Follow Through had control and attempting to establish a less collaborative working relationship which would be acceptable although not necessarily ideal.

Internal Administration.

Conclusion 3.11. Within SRI, there has been an interesting evolution, as a result of which much more emphasis has been placed on the administration of the project rather than on the substantive tasks for which SRI is responsible. In part, this development is a consequence of the gradual identification of a variety of administrative functions that had not received sufficient emphasis. In addition, the organization has become much more differentiated as the total effort has been broken up into a number of semi-autonomous efforts; as a result, the need for administrative efforts directed toward the coordination of these activities has increased.

Conclusion 3.12. For a significant period of time, the decision-making process was overly centralized so that too much responsibility was delegated to a small number of key individuals. It was not that these individuals were in any sense incapable but rather that they were overloaded. Under these circumstances, decisions could not be reached as rapidly as would have been desirable and internal activities were hampered as others had to wait for the completion of decisions. The situation showed some improvement as decision-making responsibilities were decentralized and delegated to the separate activities.

Conclusion 3.13. As decisions were made that led to increasing differentiation within the SRI organization, one could gradually recognize that certain activities were primarily associated with a summative evaluation (data collection, field staff, data processing) while certain other activities were primarily associated with research and development. For reasons that are not wholly clear, the evaluation-oriented activites appear to have been much more successful. Some of the reasons for this difference in outcomes appear to be as follows:

a) Agreements could be reached about reasonable and attainable objectives for the evaluation activities. It was much more difficult to reach agreements about objectives for the research and development activities. In a sense, these problems as initially formulated were overly ambitious and unmanageable. Yet, at the same time, there was an unwillingness to agree on a more modest statement of objectives, almost as if any compromise of the initial statement of aspirations was unacceptable.

b) SRI was more successful in recruiting a fully-qualified staff for the evaluation activities and less successful with its recruiting for the research and development activities. With the latter set of activities, SRI could have made use of the most distinguished and most experienced individuals that could have been obtained and there just weren't enough individuals of this level of capability available. Thus, although the staff recruited was competent, they were not necessarily able to cope with the magnitude of the tasks for which they were held responsible.

c) It is also our impression that an appropriately effective working relationship did develop between the top level of administrators and those responsible for the evaluation activities but similarly effective relationships between these administrators and the research and development activities failed to develop. In part, the key administrators were overloaded and were also more inclined by way of background to remain involved with the evaluation effort. In retrospect, we would suggest a reorganization with the programs of community studies and non-cognitive assessment treated as of equal stature as compared to the evaluation effort. In addition, there might well have been added one or two key administrators, with primary responsibility for research and development, who would have been included as co-directors of the total effort. Thus, we are proposing one or more additional senior staff members at the level of project co-directors who would have been responsible for the research and development activities.

Conclusion 3.14. Even with respect to the evaluation activities, there was insufficient attention given to certain very important functions and thus the resources committed to these functions were not wholly adequate. For example, an appropriate emphasis was placed on the collection of data but not necessarily on the development of plans for the analysis of the data. This was particularly true with reference to the development of a long-range set of plans for the overall design of the study. Similarly, there were not sufficient resources committed to the writing of reports and particularly to those portions of reports that focused on the interpretation of data. Again, key individuals were overloaded and were unable to handle the staggering variety of functions for which they were responsible.

Conclusion 3.15. Although SRI made a rather substantial use of consultants, the impact of their efforts was rather limited. This raises the general question of how one can use consultants most effectively in support of such a project. We would suggest the following considerations. a) The task to be assigned to the consultants has to be well-defined. b) There needs to be a commitment of effort over time on the part of the consultants so that their effort can have some cumulative affect and that there be some continuity from one meeting to the next. c) The consultants have to be able to recognize that their efforts are actually productive and leading to some desirable accomplishments. d) Finally, provisions have to be made to ensure that the efforts of the consultants can be coordinated to the activities of the main program. In the absence of such coordination, the efforts of the consultants may be successful but they will have little relationship to the client's program of activities and will have little apparent value.

Conclusion 3.16. For much of the time during which SRI has been responsible for this program, there has been considerable external pressure exerted on SRI. As a result, the senior administrators have been faced with some extremely difficult problems in the management of internal tensions and morale. To some extent, they have made use of a pair of strategies which have been reasonably effective. One strategy has been to use the senior administrators as buffers in order to protect the majority of the staff from interference with their activities. This strategy works reasonably well as far as the staff are concerned but it places an extraordinary emotional burden on these individuals who are asked to function as buffers. However, when the buffering was not possible,it was necessary to transmit the pressures on to relevant members of the staff and to involve them in emergency activities designed to respond to the pressures that were being transmitted. Under these circumstances, the emotional burdens and a sense of crisis were distributed among a larger number of individuals. We would suggest that some reasonable level of tension is challenging and functional. However, when the tension exceeds certain levels, as has sometimes been true for SRI, it begins to become disfunctional and to interfere with the organization's ability to carry out its responsibilities.

The Follow Through Branch

In our review of the major components of Follow Through, we have placed considerable emphasis on a functional analysis of each component as well as on the interrelationships existing between components. Our objective has been to try to "make sense" out of the activities associated with each and to show how the activities of one component complemented those of another.

In this respect, certain primary functions are the responsibility of the local projects. Assuming that one objective of Follow Through has been to implement a demonstration program, then it follows that the local projects are primary in that they are the key to the successful accomplishment of this objective. Similarly, it is relatively easy to make sense of the sponsors' contributions in that they exist in order to support the local projects and their contribution is clearly relevant to the accomplishment of certain Follow Through objectives.

Along these lines, what functions have been performed by SRI's program of research and evaluation? If we assume that the purpose of Follow Through is "to develop evidence to help guide policy decisions about the design and implementation of educational programs intended to ameliorate the impact of poverty and its concomitants," then it follows that Follow Through has been preoccupied with a pair of objectives. In the short-run, it was essential that the local projects be implemented in order to satisfy one set of conditions for the successful completion of the Follow Through experiment. In addition, it was essential that data be collected in order to assess what was being accomplished and in order to prepare the evidence upon which policy decisions for the future might be based. In this sense, SRI's activities are also primary in that they are essential to the completion of the Follow Through experiment.

We also saw that SRI developed some appropriately complementary relationships to the Follow Through Branch and to its superiors in that SRI would provide that data for a summative evaluation and for the decisions to be made by Follow Through. On the other hand, SRI's relationship to local projects and sponsors developed in an asymmetrical fashion that was somewhat unsatisfactory. The projects functioned in support of SRI in that the collection of data depended upon access to the local projects. SRI had been expected to support the projects by providing them with a formative assessment of their functioning. For a variety of reasons, SRI has been rather unsuccessful in satisfying this particular obligation.

There remain some questions about the Follow Through Branch and the functions that it performs. Superficially at least, one might state that it "runs" the program. Yet, in terms of the functions it performs, such a statement is not wholly accurate. After all, the local project activities are primary as is the SRI program and the Follow Through Branch functions so as to support these primary activities. In what follows, we want to summarize the functional contributions that have been made by the Follow Through Branch and how these contributions have changed over time. Finally, we want to review those external constraints that have particularly influenced the activities of the Follow Through Branch.

Conclusion 4.1. Along with the emphasis on planned variation that was initiated in 1968, certain assumptions were made that had important implications for the operation of the Follow Through Branch. These were a) that the program should primarily emphasize research and development and therefore b) that it would be most appropriate for the Branch to work collaboratively in order to support the activities that were essential to the implementation of the program. The implications for SRI and for the sponsors are reasonably clear, namely, that the Branch would function as partners with SRI in studying what was being accomplished and as partners with the sponsors in clarifying what the sponsors were trying to accomplish and in making intelligent comparisons about the different sponsor models. The implications for projects were less clear in that the Branch had no well-developed conception of how it might best function in support of the local projects.

Conclusion 4.2. Was it realistic to assume that the Branch should emphasize this collaborative method of operation? We can answer this question only indirectly by reviewing how the Branch itself is supervised and the criteria that are likely to be employed in evaluating its effectiveness. The evidence, although sketchy, would indicate that Follow Through's superiors did not fully comprehend what the Branch was attempting to accomplish or how it was attempting to function in relationship to other components in the program. Indeed, there were some expectations that the Branch would primarily be monitoring the program and helping to insure that it was properly managed. In a sense, the Branch was acting on the basis of one set of understandings about how it ought to function while its superiors were prepared to evaluate the Branch in terms of a rather different set of expectations about what the Branch ought to be accomplishing. Thus, the Branch's image of itself would be realistic to the extent that that image would be shared (and accepted) by its superiors. Granted a shared set of expectations, one would predict that the Branch would be evaluated with respect to criteria that would be consistent with what it was trying to accomplish. Given two sets of expectations that were not shared, one would predict that the evaluation of the Branch would emphasize criteria that were inconsistent with what it was trying to accomplish.

Conclusion 4.3. Actually, from 1968 into 1971, the Follow Through Branch was able to maintain reasonably good working relationships with its superiors, in spite of the potentiality for misunderstanding about how the Branch was attempting to operate. There appear to be at least three reasons that help explain this state of affairs. (1) During this period, OEO continued to be quite influential and, as a consequence, OE was more inclined to let the Branch operate in a rather autonomous fashion. (2) Since this was an initial period of activity for Follow Through, there was a tendency to be lenient on the assumption that it was premature to attempt to evaluate the functioning of the Branch. Presumably, the program should be given an opportunity to stabilize its activities before subjecting it to a more rigorous evaluation. (3) More importantly, the Branch had begun to function so as to monitor in an appropriate fashion certain components while it continued to collaborate with certain other components. To be specific, Program Management was assigned the responsibility for the monitoring of local projects and for ensuring that the Follow Through guidelines were being followed. In this respect, the functioning of Program Management was consistent with expectations about how the Branch ought to function. The Director, working with Research and Evaluation, was thus able to continue to work collaboratively with SRI and the sponsors.

Conclusion 4.4. This compromise such that the Branch conformed in part to expectations about how it should function was only partially successful. The key disadvantages were:

1. The Branch continued to be under-manned in relationship to what it was trying to accomplish and thus was unable to fulfill all of the functions for which it was responsible. For example, Program Management was able to monitor the local projects but had few additional resources available for providing some reasonable level of support to these projects. Similarly, Research and Evaluation emphasized support and collaboration and scarcely had enough resources to carry out this function. They were also nominally responsible for the monitoring of SRI and all of the sponsors and had too

few additional resources that might be assigned to this responsibility.

2. Since Research and Evaluation was least in conformity with external expectations about how Follow Through should operate, it was the section that was most vulnerable to criticism when the Branch was subject to evaluation. Similarly, it was this section that was most affected by the recent changes within the Follow Through Branch. As a result of these changes, the efforts of this section are now much more focused on the monitoring of sponsors and the evaluation effort and it operates much more nearly in conformity with external expectations.

3. Program Management and Research and Evaluation continued to operate in terms of rather different and somewhat competing conceptions of how Follow Through should be functioning. These differences in orientation led to some friction between the two sections that interfered with their ability to cooperate.

Conclusion 4.5. Also as a result of limited resources in relation to responsibilities, the Branch was forced to emphasize short-run considerations and was unable to give sufficient attention to the development of long-range plans for the future of Follow Through. Short-run issues had an immediacy that could not be easily ignored. Long-run considerations tended to be postponed until some crisis would arise concerning the future of Follow Through. Then some long-run plans would be improvised. It would have been particularly advantageous if additional resources had been available to the Branch for the development of long-range plans and if key individuals, such as the Director, could have devoted more of their time to planning for the future of Follow Through.

Conclusion 4.6. A number of individuals who have had a continuing association with Follow Through have pointed out that Follow Through was originally conceived as a service program and was subsequently transformed into one that emphasized Research and Development. They have also suggested that these two points of view are somewhat in conflict. More importantly, both points of view have continued to be influential within Follow Through and its functioning has continued to be affected by this unresolved conflict. For example, assuming that Follow Through is a service program, then it follows that the Branch should function so as to monitor the implementation of the Program. However, assuming that Follow Through is also a program of Research and Development, then it follows that the Branch can justify its emphasis on collaboration and support.

Conclusion 4.7. The guidelines and their influence are also symptomatic of the implicit conflict within the Branch over the Program as service vs. the Program as Research and Development. The guidelines can be most readily justified on the assumption that this is a service program and that there is no need to question their desirability. However, as a Program emphasizing Research and Development, the guidelines can be more appropriately viewed as provisional assumptions, open to question, and subject to experimental verification as to their desirability and appropriateness.

Conclusion 4.8. Particularly when crises have arisen between the Branch and its supervisors, one begins to recognize that the control exercised over the Branch as well as over policy decisions about the Program is extremely complex and highly ambiguous. Not only are there several levels of control, but it is quite difficult to determine which of the supervisors will exercise nominal and which will exercise substantial forms of control over Follow Through. In addition, the mechanisms by means of which different offices will participate in decision-making about Follow Through have never been clearly defined. In short, Follow Through has had to operate in a very unpredictable environment in which the Branch has never been certain about those supervisors to which it was actually responsible, the criteria that would be employed in evaluating its activities, or the procedures that would be followed in reaching decisions about the future of Follow Through. These ambiguities in the process of supervision frequently have disfunctional consequences both for the functioning of the Branch as well as for the morale of its members. One might suggest the following changes in order to reduce these ambiguities. First, responsibility for the supervision of Follow Through might be delegated to a single office that would have primary responsibility. Secondly, there might be established a steering committee, consisting of all other offices having a legitimate interest in the Follow Through Program. This committee would function in an advisory capacity and would have an opportunity to review all decisions being made about Follow Through policies as well as the objectives of the program.

Conclusion 4.9. The Branch has frequently made use of outside consultants to advise on the development of plans and policies. Since Follow Through has consistently been understaffed, the use of outside consultants would appear to be particularly desirable. Yet, both the Follow Through Branch as well as SRI have had difficulty in making effective use of these individuals. We would suggest that consultants can be most helpful when they are presented with a problem that is limited in scope and well-defined. In addition, consultants require a certain amount of experience with Follow Through and a certain amount of background before they can begin to function effectively. Thus, it is particularly important that consultants be able to operate on a regular and continuing basis so that their efforts can have some cumulative effect. Finally, it is discouraging for consultants unless they have an opportunity to bring some of their efforts to completion and unless their efforts can be seen to contribute to the success of the program.

Conclusion 4.10. By implication, we have suggested that Follow Through's initial emphasis on Research and Development and on working collaboratively with other Follow Through components had some disfunctional consequences, particularly because this emphasis was not wholly consistent with existing expectations about how Follow Through should operate. In part, it was disfunctional because of the limited resources at the disposal of the Follow Through Branch. As a compromise, the Branch assigned some resources to the monitoring of projects, sponsors, and SRI and used other resources in order to support these same components. But with limited resources, the Branch had only partial success in carrying out either of these major responsibilities.

What changes would have made it more feasible for Follow Through to carry out all of its managerial responsibilities? We would suggest the following for consideration.

1. It would have been desirable if the Branch had been able to reach additional agreements with its supervisors so that external expectations about Branch functioning would have been more consistent with the Branch's own image of how it was attempting to operate. We would predict that agreements could have been reached only if both the Branch and its supervisors were willing to modify their expectations. Specifically, the Branch might have placed greater emphasis on its functions as monitor while its supervisors accepted the importance of support and collaboration.

2. Within the Branch, it would have been advantageous to reach additional agreements about a division of responsibility such that the monitoring functions were more clearly separated from the support functions. It is difficult for one individual to maintain a relationship to someone in which he sometimes functions as monitor (with its implications of control) and at other times functions as collaborator (with its implications of partnership). Indeed, over a period of time, any given relationship is likely to emphasize only one of these functions at the expense of the other.

3. Given the limitations of staff, such a division of responsibility would probably have been impossible unless subcontracts could have been written so as to augment the capabilities of the Branch. For example:

a) In large military contracts, composed of several large subcontracts, one frequently writes a contract in order to provide for the management of the total effort and for coordination among several components. Such a management contract might have been written so that the Branch (i.e., the Director and Research and Evaluation) could have delegated to someone else the responsibility for monitoring the program of Research and Evaluation. Indeed, the contract under which the Huron Institute operates might be interpreted as a step in this direction.

b) On the assumption that the Project Officers would continue to monitor the local projects, one might have looked for a pattern of external resources to provide support to the local projects. For example, the projects often need help in promoting their programs of parent involvement, in carrying out long-range planning, and in giving appropriate consideration to the problems of community and organizational change. These services could have been made available through some form of subcontracts. Interestingly enough, the general consultants were expected to be responsible for some of these support functions. It is our impression that this solution was only partially successful, first because of the limited time available for general consultants to work with projects (at most one or two days per month and usually less) and secondly, because of the attempt to use general consultants to monitor as well as to support the activities of local projects.

4. By augmenting the capabilities of the Branch, one would have relieved certain key individuals in the Branch - the Director and the chiefs of the two sections of Program Management and Research and Evaluation - of a continual involvement in the details of administration. In turn, they

would have been able to concentrate more fully on long-range planning, on Follow Through's relationships within OE and other parts of the Federal Government, and in support of the major activities associated with Research and Development.

Epilogue

On January 26, 1973, there appeared a newspaper account[4] describing a variety of programs supported by the Federal Government that were either to be eliminated or reduced in scope. Included in the article were some references to Follow Through. What would appear to be correct is that those cohorts of children who had already begun with Follow Through would be completed but that no new cohorts would be supported. Specifically, those children in kindergarten in 1972-73 would be permitted to continue in Follow Through for an additional three years until they had graduated from Follow Through. By implication, support for the Follow Through five-year plan or for some other form of long-run expansion would not be forthcoming.

Thus, at this time when predictions are already being made that Follow Through activities will end after the school year 1975-76, it seems appropriate to make some general comments about what the program has accomplished. On the positive side, Follow Through committed itself to the establishment of a demonstration program, emphasizing planned variation and relying primarily on the efforts of local projects, sponsors, and a program of research and evaluation. This program has been successfully implemented and the magnitude of this achievement should not be underestimated. To return to Campbell's plea for "Reforms on Experiments," this is one of the few examples of a program of reform that was honestly experimental and that has been carried through almost to completion. On the other hand, assuming decisions for the termination of the program are already being made, this will be still another example of a program that will be terminated while the data for evaluating the effectiveness of the program are still being analyzed.

---

[4] Memo lists Nixon social program cuts, Chicago Sun-Times, January 26, 1973, p. 4.

We have frequently made the point that Follow Through should be viewed as an experiment in two different senses. There is the educational experiment in which comparisons among local projects are of essential importance and in which the sponsors and their models are a significant experimental variable. Yet, Follow Through can also be viewed as an administrative experiment in building an organization for the implementation of an experimental program. In some respects, the purpose of our report is to document what has been accomplished by this administrative experiment. Indeed, from this point of view, some of Follow Through's organizational difficulties are as illuminating as are its successes. More specifically, one might say that Follow Through has been responsible for three separate administrative experiments. One of these centers around the local projects and their evolution as change-agents within a local school system and community. A second administrative experiment centers around the activities of SRI: its very tangible success in building a data collection and data processing capability as well as its difficulties in attempting to carry out an ambitious program of research and development. Finally, there is the administrative experiment centering around the Follow Through Branch and the relationships it has established for monitoring the program and for collaborating with certain activities. All three of these administrative experiments are of general interest for the implementation of any program emphasizing an experimental approach to the need for social reform.

It is perhaps important to point out in conclusion that the accomplishments of Follow Through can not be accurately assessed in the short-run. After all, the developmental effort was not an end in itself. And the fact that Follow Through was able to build an organization for the implementation of its program is not an end in itself. One has to consider the possibility of additional programs for which the Follow Through experience is relevant. In this respect, it would appear that Follow Through has made two important contributions each of which is significant. From the educational experiment, one has learned something about the advantages and disadvantages of certain educational innovations. From the three interrelated administrative experiments one has learned something about the management of change in local communities, about the management of a complex program of research and evaluation, and about the management of the Follow Through program as a total system. The importance of these latter contributions should not be ignored.